MAY, 1922

Labor Age

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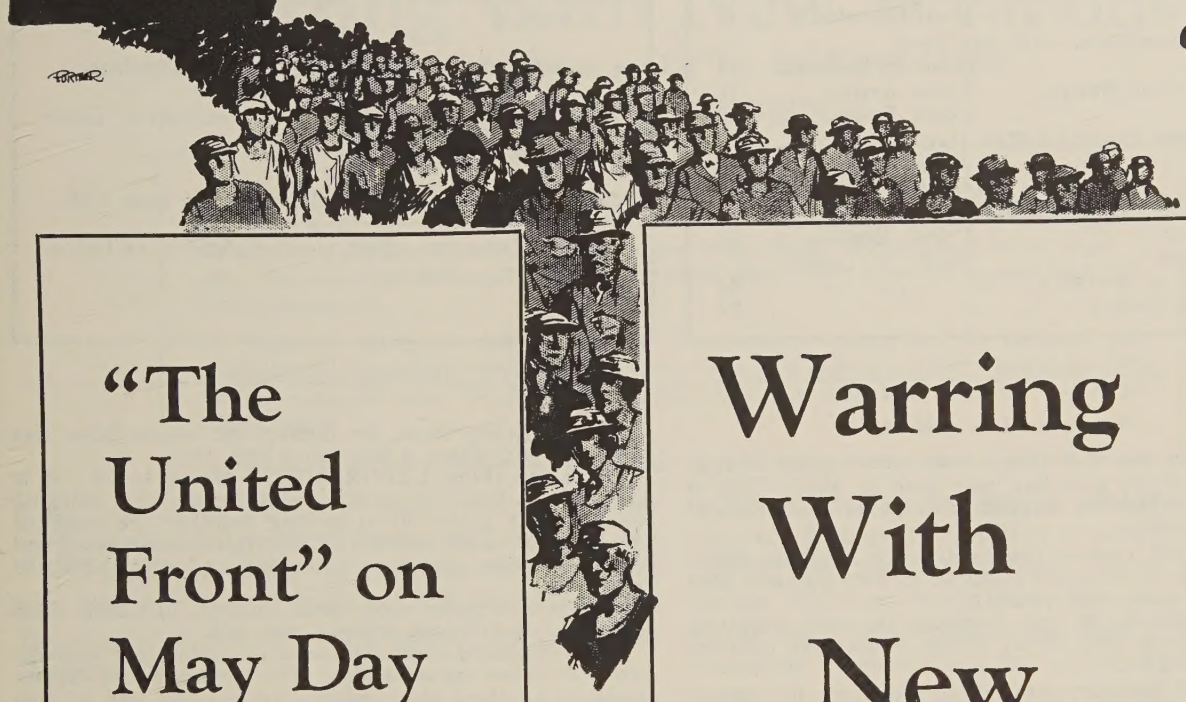

"The United Front" on May Day

Labor's Artists on The Coal Strike

Warring With New Weapons

—In Coal, Textiles, The Needle Trades

Volume XI, No. 5 May, 1922

20c per copy

Labor Age

A Monthly Labor Digest

$2.00 per year

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc., 41 Union Square, New York

Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in the socialization of industry.

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"What's the Use," Indeed?

WHAT'S the use of having a trade union ticket in your pocket if the boss has your head in his?" This is the question which the English labor paper *Plebs* asks of its April readers.

LABOR AGE answers the question for American labor. It thinks that labor should stand on its own legs and keep its head out of the boss' pocket.

Labor should do its own thinking, its own educating, its own banking, and should finally control the industry in which it works.

Control of industry cannot be obtained by merely shouting about it. It can be secured only by making use of all the weapons that the employer uses, by getting the *facts* and facing them, by finding out where labor has succeeded and where it has failed and why.

That's the thing LABOR AGE is trying to do. It is fighting the battle of every working man and working woman—with *facts*. It is getting together the story of the successes and failures of the labor movement, and finding out why they have succeeded, and why they have failed.

This sort of thing needs *your* support. LABOR AGE cannot do its full task without your aid.

We particularly want assistance in getting our message across to labor organizations. We want them to become members of the Labor Publication Society, and to join in getting their members familiar with this effort. Let us hear from you today.

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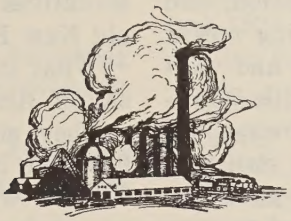
Labor Age



Warring With New Weapons

"Proving the Boss A Liar" in the Textile Fight

By EDWIN NEWDICK

AMERICAN LABOR is using new weapons in its fight. The very things the "bosses" have employed to cloud the issue in a strike or lockout are now being used against them. The facts and figures of industry are being found and exposed to the light of day. The employers can no longer hide behind their own doctored figures and publicity statements.

Facts *are always on labor's side, but labor has not always had the technical men to attack the employers' statements. Lately "Bix Six" won a decided victory with the help of research men. In the textile strike they have also been used to "prove the boss a liar."*

A TEXTILE strike is nothing new. In no industry, perhaps, have conflicts on a big scale recurred more frequently. There are, however, some significant differences between the present strike in New England and its predecessors.

For one thing, the newspapers and the local authorities in the mill towns have shown a greater spirit of fairness toward the strikers than on previous occasions. The result has been an almost entire absence of violence and arrests. Pawtucket was the only exception. There the deaths were caused by police bullets. So deep seated has been the public disapproval of this killing—despite the official whitewash—that the authorities have since been compelled to act in a saner manner. In Lawrence, famous storm center, the Mayor said that there was not a single arrest during the early days of the strike. The records in the early days of the 1912 strike showed 90 such arrests.

The difference is doubtless due in some measure to the normal reaction of the public from the excesses of suppression during and immediately following the war. A further explanation may be seen in the apparent uneasiness and indecisiveness of the mill owners themselves. They are not making the usual determined efforts to break the strike. I suspect that they scarcely know what policy they ought to adopt. Even without the strike, business would have been slack. On the other hand, they realize the danger of complete cessation of operations for a long period of time —the loss in efficiency, the resentment of the operatives.

The New Strategy

The most important difference between this and former strikes is the difference in strategy adopted by the textile workers. Labor has taken issue with the mills squarely upon a basis of *the facts*. The leaders of the strikers have not followed the old method of employing mere oratory, sentiment, emotionalism and defamation in their attacks upon their opponents. The heads of the textile unions have gone to the public with analyses of financial and industrial facts of the situation, which the public could easily grasp. They have put a heavy burden of proof upon the mill owners. Some specific examples will illustrate this point.

In Manchester, N. H., is the biggest textile mill in the United States, Amoskeag, with 620,000 spindles and 16,000 operatives. In each of the three English-language newspapers of Man-

chester, the United Textile Workers have published a series of six half-page paid advertisements presenting a careful fact treatment of wages, Northern and Southern competition, and Amoskeag's operations and profits during recent years. President Thomas F. McMahon and vice-president James Starr of the United Textile Workers of America, in determining on this course, did something absolutely new in a textile strike in the United States. And, be it said, they gave The Labor Bureau, Inc., whom they retained to prepare the material for publication, an absolutely free hand in seeking and presenting the facts. They asked for and desired no "propaganda."

Underwood & Underwood *I. P. E. U. 624*

THE MILITIA IN PAWTUCKET

The Strikers met these tactics of the employers with Facts showing up huge profits and low wages!

An Example of Profits

Nothing could better illustrate how effective a case can be made for labor than the revelations of the United Textile Workers regarding Amoskeag. Besides being the biggest textile concern in the country, Amoskeag is one of the oldest and proudest. It owns most of the land around Manchester and much of the land in the city. It has given free leases of parks and playgrounds to the city. Manchester's City Hall stands on land owned by Amoskeag. Amoskeag has made Manchester. Amoskeag *is* Manchester. And the direction of Amoskeag's affairs is in the hands of a group of men who count among their number select representatives of the industrial and social nobility of old New England.

What did the United Textile Workers have to say of Amoskeag? Several things:

They showed that Amoskeag's capitalization has been increased from $4,000,000 to over $44,000,000 without contribution of a single dollar, except from profits.

They showed that Amoskeag now has in surplus and quick assets, a total nearly equal to its entire capitalization.

They showed that Amoskeag paid out nearly $3,000,000 in dividends in the "bad" year of 1921.

They showed that Amoskeag paid out 409 per cent *more* in dividends in 1921 than it did ten years before, in 1911.

They showed that Amoskeag earned in net profits 139 per cent *more* in 1921 than it earned in 1911.

They showed that Amoskeag paid out in dividends in 1921 about $1,250,000 more than it earn-

ed—withdrawing the balance for dividends from surplus.

They showed that Amoskeag made 139 per cent *more* profit in 1921 than in 1911 *on the sale of only two-thirds as much cloth.*

They showed that $100 invested in Amoskeag 25 years ago would have yielded $670 in dividends to date.

They showed that $100 invested in Amoskeag 25 years ago would also have yielded its possessor stock now worth $1,175.

They showed that the profits of Amoskeag per dollar of sales averaged 47 per cent higher in 1912-1916 than in 1907-1911.

They showed that the profits of Amoskeag per dollar of sales were *higher in* 1921 *than the five-year average of* 1907-1911.

President McMahon has authorized similar advertising campaigns in several other Northern New England mill centers.

Fighting With Facts

Unquestionably labor is rapidly seeing the value of attacking its problems with facts. Labor is itself astounded to find how strong a case it has on this fact basis.

An illustration of this astonishment is the veritable sensation created in labor ranks by the facts on the profits of the New England textile industry presented before the Social Welfare Committee of the Masachusetts Legislature during its public hearing on a bill to abolish the 48-hour law in Massachusetts. Cotton manufacturers appeared in force at this hearing. The Labor Bureau, Inc., represented the State Branch of The American Federation of Labor and the Women's Trade Union League at the hearing.

The profits of cotton mills of Fall River were given to illustrate the sad plight (!) into which Massachusetts mills had been forced by the 48-hour law which, they had just been telling the legislators, was killing the textile industry in the old Bay State.

The "Poor" Mill Owners

It was shown, that, during the last 20 years, all the Fall River mills, for which financial records were available, including 26 of the largest mills, had averaged 8.4 per cent on capitalization.

For several reasons this figure is substantially lower than the fact; to mention only one: The distribution of war profits continued in huge volume throughout the last half of 1920, and well into 1921 in the case of most mills, but the compilation included less than half of this.

Figures were presented covering the earnings of every textile mill in Fall River whose stock is listed, 36 in all, showing the profits from the beginning of 1917 through the first quarter of 1922. At this very time when the industry of New England is screaming for help, shaking with palsy at Southern competition, cutting wages and begging for longer hours, these 36 Fall River mills averaged for the first quarter of 1922 dividends totaling over 11 per cent per annum on their capitalization. This capitalization has been increased by more than 25 per cent, since the beginning of 1917, practically all by stock dividends, that is, capitalization of profits.

Since the first of 1917, these 36 Fall River mills have paid over 83 per cent cash dividends on their capitalization. On their capitalization of January 1, 1917, these mills have paid since that date cash dividends of 96.97 per cent. That is, the stockholders of these Fall River mills have received in cash, dollar for dollar, virtually the full capitalized value of the properties since January 1, 1917—more in fact, if allowance is made for any interest on dividend money deposited or reinvested!

I should hesitate to conclude from such examples as this that labor has become inbued with any deep-rooted scientific attitude toward its problems. But I do think that the illustration furnished by the use of facts in the textile strike by both the Amalgamated and United Textile Workers, is a valid illustration of a noticeable tendency among progressive labor leaders to adopt tactics not in the repertory of their old-time predecessors. Labor is beginning to realize more fully than formerly the value of the use of reason to justify economic force and of taking the "public" into their confidence.

President Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers states it more simply. He says:

"It is not enough now-a-days merely to call the boss a liar. Prove it."

Why Mr. Coal is Ill

Throwing Light on the Miners' Method of Attack

By SAVEL ZIMAND

FACTS of the clothing industry. Facts of the coal industry. These are labor's demands today. The outstanding feature of the present coal strike or lockout is the miners' insistence that the country be supplied with all of the facts of the coal industry all of the time. "For facts," as their nationalization research committee declares, "have a way of developing ethical and social meaning."

As a first step toward the reorganization of the coal industry, the union demands a Permanent Federal Fact Finding Agency. If labor throughout the country actively supports the miners in this demand, this agency will be established and the miners, warring with new weapons, will have won a notable victory.

THE statement has repeatedly been made that the coal industry is sick, but refuses to be doctored. The first problem of the physician who attends a case of serious illness is to give immediate relief. His second problem is that of finding out and eradicating the cause of the disease. In the present coal situation, the immediate relief to be given to Mr. Coal is the settlement of the coal crisis. After this, we have still to find out how Mr. Coal can be brought to a normal state of health.

What is the complaint of Mr. Coal? On April first of this year, 514,500 anthracite and bituminous miners left work. At the end of the second week of the strike we find that 117,000 non-union miners, out of a force of 238,000 non-union miners, had joined hands with the strikers. These are the miners' figures, and no detail criticism of them has been made.

In the bituminous field the operators arbitrarily announced a cut in wages and violated an agreement upon which they had solemnly entered. In the anthracite field the operators are now negotiating a new agreement.

The Anthracite Miners' Demands

In this field about 35,000 miners out of a total of about 132,000 do not belong to the union. This group, however, is always with the union.

Anthracite miners demand an increase of $1.00 a day. The present rate is $4.20 per day per worker. The wage rate asked is, therefore $5.20. The anthracite worker never obtained a full year's work. During 1920, which was a remarkably good year, the mines were open 270 days. A daily wage of $4.20 for 270 days, even on the supposition that the anthracite miner does work every day that the mine is open, amounts to a yearly rate of $1,134. At the rate of $5.20 per day, which the miners demand, it would bring in but $1,404 annually. This new demand totals an income much below the $1,600 advocated by the economic adviser to the Chairman of the Anthracite Wage Commission of 1920. And even allowing for a fall in prices since 1920, the amount sought is less than a minimum comfort wage.

The contract miners demand an increase of 20 per cent. The 1920 Anthracite Coal Commission increased the rates of this group of miners by 65 per cent over the 1916 rates, although the increase in the cost of living from December, 1916, to June, 1920, amounted to over 83 per cent. And here again we see that the anthracite miners, in asking for an increase for the contract miners, are only requesting a yearly wage which would guarantee a minimum standard of comfort. If granted the increase, the contract miner in the anthracite field would be earning about $1,800 a year. In explanation of this higher demand, it may be said that greater skill and risks are required of contract miners than of day workers. Instead of granting this demand, however, the operators insist upon a wage cut of 15 to 20 per cent.

The Operators' Agreement

Long before the expiration of the agreement, the miners, in accordance with the precedent followed since 1898, invited the operators to meet them in conference. The agreement reads as follows:

"Resolved, That an Interstate Joint Conference be held prior to April 1, 1922; the time and place of holding such meeting is referred to a committee of two operators and two miners from each State herein represented, together with the International officers of the United Mine Workers' Organization."

The operators refused to confer with the miners. They plainly broke an agreement to which

their names were signed. Mr. P. H. Penna, a coal operator of Indiana, said: "I cannot deny that our refusal to meet is a violation of our agreement."

Instead of getting together with the miners to discuss the wage controversy, the bituminous operators months ago stated publicly that they intended to cut the wages to the 1917 scale. This would mean a reduction of 32 to 54 per cent.

What are the present wages which the operators wish to reduce? Mr. John Brophy, President of District No. 2, Central Pennsylvania, tells us that the average net income for 31,979 miners for the year 1921 was $760. This means that a miner has to keep his family alive on $14.60 a week (which is $2.08 a day for the 365 days).

There is no indication that 1922 will bring with it a greater number of working days for the miners. On the contrary. According to present indications, employment during 1922 will be less than in the preceding year. It may be admitted that in some district the miners might have earned more than in District No. 2. But it is unlikely that the average wage in any district was as high as $1,400. According to data compiled by W. Jett Lauck from information supplied by the United Mine Workers, the average earnings during 1921 for the men employed in the Pittsburg district was, for example, only $765; in the Ohio district, $550; in West Virginia (New River), $500; and $420 in Tennessee. And from this meagre wage the operators demand a cut of from 32 to 54 per cent!

What Is This Competitive Field?

For a quarter of a century it has been the common custom of the operators of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to enter into a conference for negotiating agreements.

The wage rates of the miners of the adjoining districts were based upon this agreement in the central competitive field. The reason for this was twofold: (1) At the time when this agreement was first established in 1898, most of the union miners were located in these districts. (2) The bulk of the bituminous production was concentrated in these States. In 1898, for instance, the six territories which contained most of the organized workers produced 103,000,000 tons, out of a national output of 290,000,000 (this first figure includes all of the Pennsylvania production). Conditions, however, changed, and in 1918, the peak year of production, the central competitive field produced something like 225,000,000 tons, out of 580,000,000 tons for the entire country. This year, some time before the agreement expired, the bituminous operators refused to respond to the usual biennial invitation of the United Mine Workers of America to gather in conference. They gave the following reasons for their refusal to confer:

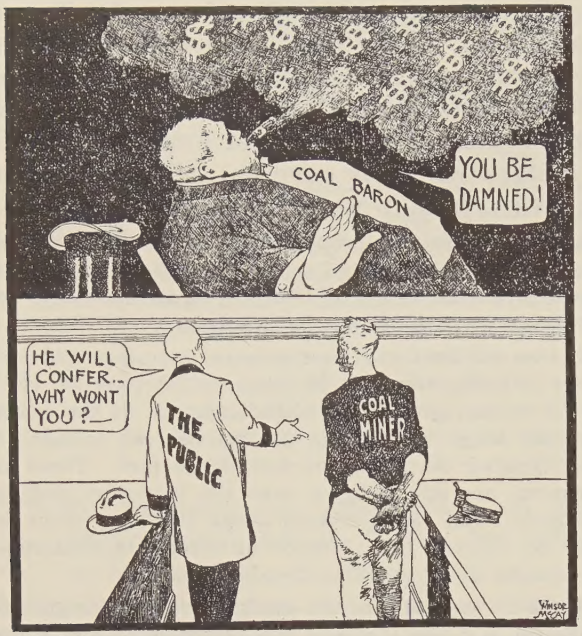
1. The conference proposed by President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, would prove futile, as the demands of the union for $7.50 a day, a six-hour day, and a five-day week could not be granted.

2. One hundred and twenty-seven operators and miners in 99 companies were indicted on February 24, 1921, by the federal grand jury of Indianapolis, on the charge that the wage agreements of the central competitive field violated the Sherman Anti-Trust law. These indictments are still hanging over the operators and the companies, and the operators allege that they were advised by counsel not to enter an interstate conference on account of its possible illegal character.

3. Other operators of the central field said they would confer only if the whole of the central field was represented.

The miners, in reply to these statements, declare that the real cause for the operators' refusal to confer is the latter's belief that the present is a strategic time to break up the nucleus of a national wage agreement. It should be said here that the central competitive field agreements were the basis upon which the agreements in the other districts were made. It was a common law in the miners' organization that all of the agreements made by the miners with other district operators had to be based on an agreement previously made in the central competitive field. When operators outside the central competitive field now state that the miners in their districts refused to accept their invitation to confer, it should be remembered that the miners, by answering such a call, would have been violating their national constitution. We all know that it is assumed that any law which is passed in the U. S. Congress is not in violation to the national constitution of the U. S. The miners also declare that by trying to make separate agreements, the operators are endeavoring to destroy a machinery that has been built up for one-quarter of a century. Agreements, if they are to have stability, should not be made in separate districts of the country, but upon the basis of a national agreement.

The union maintains that the operators, by their stand for separate agreements, are planning, not to destroy the union as a union, but worse than that—to destroy the union's effectiveness.



New York American. *I. P. E. U. 624*

THE LAST OF THE BARONS

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A Fact-Finding Agency

The most significant happenings during the first three weeks of the nation-wide strike are the proposals made by John L. Lewis, John Brophy and Philip Murray, all miners.

President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, declared before the House Labor Committee that his organization welcomed an impartial and judicial investigation of the general conditions in the coal industry.

John Brophy, Chairman of the Nationalization Research Committee, before the same committee, advocated a national agency to get the facts. He urged the need both of an Emergency Commission and of a permanent Federal Finding Agency. This Emergency Commission should be made up half of the operators and half of the miners, with a joint Chairman, after the manner of the War Labor Board. Out of this Coal Commission, as suggested by Mr. Brophy, should grow a permanent Federal Fact-Finding Agency.*

Mr. Philip Murray, Vice-President of the United Mine Workers of America, at a dinner given under the auspices of the Survey Associates, on April 21, 1922, proposed that Congress authorize, and the President appoint, a Coal Commission to ascertain all the facts regarding the coal industry and report within one year. The Commission should include within its membership all the government agencies dealing with coal. The Chairman should be an unprejudiced representative of the public. The members should consist of the Chief of the Bureau of Mines, the Chief of the Geological Survey, the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, the Secretary of the Interior, the President of the National Coal Association, and the President of the United Mine Workers of America. As an immediate measure, Mr. Murray suggested that Congress pass a law extending the award of the President's Bituminous Coal Commission of 1920 to all operators in the country, both union and non-union. This would be in force until a national conference could be held and a new agreement as to wages and working conditions negotiated and accepted. The bituminous mine workers would return to work pending the negotiations of a new agreement.

*For further information on this point write to John Brophy, President District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, Clearfield, Pa., for "Compulsory Information in Coal—A Fact-Finding Agency."—Editor.

The bituminous operators have not come forward with a single constructive plan, and are merely adopting a waiting policy, hoping thereby to win the contest.

In the meantime, the miners have been successful in getting 117,000 non-union miners to lay down their tools. The operators have attacked the miners. The miners have answered this attack by invading the enemy territory and by making gains in the non-union field beyond the hopes even of optimistic leaders. The current output of hard and soft coal combined is some 2,000,000 tons short of that in the corresponding period of the 1919 strike. A real shortage is imminent. The country is bound to suffer, because, according to most reliable sources, the operators are determined at all cost to destroy the effectiveness of the union. The miners are in the best of spirits. They have the public opinion of the country back of them. How far the public will make itself effective for the striker in pressing the government for action, the future alone will show.

The Diseases of Mr. Coal

There are many diseases that this apparently rugged gentleman, Mr. Coal, is suffering from, and it will be best to call in a few specialists and to hear what they have to say. We have been careful to select only those experts who are known for their great skill.

The Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Herbert Hoover, tells us: "This industry (the soft coal industry), considered as a whole, is one of the

worst functioning industries in the United States. It is equipped with capital, with machinery, plants and labor for a peak load at least 20 per cent above the average necessity."

In addressing the Purchasing Agents' Association of Baltimore, A. W. Calloway, President of the Davis Coal and Coke Company, said, according to the *Coal Review* of March 22, 1922, that, in his judgment, the annual potential capacity of the developed bituminous mines was actually 1,000,000,000 tons, provided railroad transportation were furnished regularly every working day in the year.

On this basis, and assuming that the average capital investment in the industry is $5.00 per ton of annual production capacity, Mr. Calloway said:

"*There were*, based on the 1921 production, 600,000,000 tons of idle production at $5.00 per ton, *or $3,000,000,000 of capital investment in the industry not productive.* (*Italics* are mine.)

"Assuming, further, an interest rate of 5 per cent per annum, we have a net capital loss of $150,000,000 plus depreciation on idle equipment in these plants, together with taxes and other fixed charges amounting to at least another $150,000,000, or a total waste of $300,000,000 in this one year of 1921, against a requirement of 400,000,000 tons."

This is what bad management costs the people of this country. But how could we expect anything else from an industry which is, according to Mr. C. E. Lesher, Editor of the *Coal Age*, "as unorganized (the bituminous industry) as the retail grocery business?"

Hazards and Risks of the Industry

It is a well-known fact that mining is one of the most dangerous of industries. Each year out of the men employed in the coal industry about 2,500 are killed; about 30,000 are injured. This is only an estimate. Exact figures are not available. But approximately, for every 262,000 tons of coal mined in the years 1918 one human life was sacrificed. The records of the State of Pennsylvania show that over 500 mine workers give up their lives through fatal accidents every year in the anthracite industry alone, and the same record shows that over 20,000 mine workers meet with non-fatal accidents each year. This is the sacrifice the miners have to make in order that we may use the supreme commodity of the age.

Facts, More Facts, All Facts

We have heard what the different specialists have to tell us about the diseases of Mr. Coal.

New York American. *I. P. E. U. 624*

THE COMING JOLT

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They all agree that the gentleman is very sick. Each one of these specialists no doubt would suggest some remedies. But as good scientists they refuse to give us the cure. They tell us that there are more facts to be known. There are at least twenty-seven items of the coal industry that are immediately needed. Facts on profits, speculation, shortages, facts on whether the industry is fairly capitalized, what the recent valuation of properties is, etc., etc.

On the need of facts, Dr. Garfield, who had been head of the Fuel Administration, testified to the Committee on Manufactures. (Hearing before the Committee on Manufactures, U. S. Senate, 66th Cong., 3rd session, on S. 4828, vol. 2, p. 1,261):

"Of this I am entirely certain, Mr. Chairman—if that is a safe expression for anybody to use—we cannot get along either as a government or as an industry, whether you think of it from the standpoint of the operators or mine workers, without knowing the facts. . . . I think everybody concerned is entitled to those facts, and I do not believe wise legislation can be put upon the books, nor wise action taken without knowledge of those facts."

The next step is the immediate establishment of a Centralized Compulsory and Continuous Fact-Finding Agency. Only then, when we have all the facts at our disposal, can we bring the patient to a normal state of health.

The Huge Wastes in Coal

Industry 10 Per Cent Efficient Wishes to Cut Wages!—The Miners' Answer

By STUART CHASE

CHARLES P. STEINMETZ, perhaps the foremost electrical engineer in the country, says that three-quarters of the energy contained in coal is wasted under present methods of turning coal into power, light and heat. Hugh Archbald, who has spent twenty years studying the process of underground mining, says that, with better engineering methods, the output of coal per man per day could be quadrupled. If we put their two statements together we arrive at our astonishing conclusion, namely: that the coal industry as operated today is less than ten per cent efficient; that 40,000 miners could produce the same horse power of coal which it now takes 600,000 to produce!

Wasted Labor Power

The calculation is simple. If Steinmetz is right, through better methods of utilization, 150,000,000 tons of coal could be made to do the work of the 600,000,000 tons we now use in a year. Or only 150,000 miners would be needed instead of the 600,000 who now dig coal. If Archbald is right, 40,000 miners could do the work of 150,000, if only underground engineering methods were improved. And if 40,000 miners could produce the horsepower for which 600,000 are now needed, it follows that the coal industry, as at present operated, is just 6.7 per cent efficient! Or that 15 men are used to do the work of one man.

Of course, Mr. Steinmetz was thinking of the time when all the thermal energy locked up in a ton of coal could be put to work with little waste of power; and Mr. Archbald was thinking of the time when a mine could be so planned and organized that there would be a minimum of lost motion in its operation. These times are far distant, and it will take a new and more intelligent economic system than mankind has achieved to date to usher them in. We cannot take the statements of these engineers as a practical appraisal of the inefficiency in coal mining today, but only as an indication of the appalling waste between the present chaotic methods and the methods of a wisely organized society.

But even Mr. Eugene McAuliffe, Illinois coal operator, says that the present waste in mining coal is at least $500,000,000 a year.

Four Kinds of Coal Waste

First, there is the waste in mining methods underground.

Second, there is the waste of too many mines.

Third, there is the waste in transporting and storing coal.

Fourth, there is the waste in utilizing coal after the consumer gets it.

Let us consider these in turn.

Underground Wastes

A small mine has as many roads and turnings as a city of 25,000 people. All these roads are in pitch darkness, except when the miner comes along with the lamp in his cap. The mine will average one foreman to every one hundred workers. These workers may be strung over a mile or two of inky blackness. In ordinary construction work there is a foreman for every 15 or 20 men, and his men are usually within eyeshot. The coal miner works alone or with his helper. Once in a while "Mister Super" drifts along and keeps him in touch with the rest of his black world. Mostly he works without direction, without coordination, blindly, alone. Any industrial engineer can foretell the result of work so planned—so hopelessly *unplanned.* Slight supervision, little discipline, loose organization, poor morale, mean tremendous inefficiency in winning the coal. Inefficiency not only in the production per man, but in cutting methods underground. For every ton brought to the surface, a ton is left needlessly in the mine.

To make matters worse, the miner gets a chance to work only about four days in the week. And so poorly is the mine organized that on the days when he works he averages only three or four hours on the face of the coal. The balance of the time he must spend waiting for cars, reaching his location, or in some other non-productive fashion. Instances abound where miners have chosen to leave positions which pay high rates per ton in the mine, for others which pay much lower rates, simply because they can get more work to do at the low rate point. And this enforced idleness year in and year out is more than

human nature can bear. It breaks up all orderly habits of steady work. It wrecks discipline. It makes efficient operation impossible. At eleven in the morning you are likely to find a man coming out of a mine.

"Hey, Mike, where are you going?"

"Ah, me sick. Me go home."

"What's the matter with you?"

"Me hands hurt. No can dig. No work steady."[1]

Tonnage falling off, costs mounting, the organization of the work going to pieces as men drop out, and only one boss to 100 miners! You cannot have efficient work when you have unsteady work. And it is not only the fluctuations of the outside market which cause this idleness, but in some instances it is the deliberate policy of the employer. The way to handle the workers and keep wages down is to "put on more men.'

Too Many Mines

The prime reason for the miners' illness is the fact that the soft coal industry is cursed with competition. The demand is seasonal, and varies from other causes as well. The result is that when coal is booming, new mines are opened up, and when business is slack, there is just so much more investment to keep up, and so many more men waiting to dig. Here are the figures:

Annual capacity mines .....750,000,000 tons
Maximum yearly output .....550,000,000 tons

Excess mine capacity .....200,000,000 tons

This is an excess capacity of 30 per cent, or one mine in every three should never have been opened! But this one mine keeps its workers on the chance of a boom demand (though it pays them nothing), and so all three mines can only average four days' work in a week.

In the last thirty years American miners have averaged 93 idle days out of 308 possible working days. In years of business depression, like 1893 and 1921, this will run up to 140 idle days —or nearly half the year. The average is one day in three idle—which just checks with one needless mine in three, noted above. In the 20 years from 1900 to 1919 miners were idle one and one-sixth billion working days, which is the equivalent of the total time spent by the men in the army and the navy of the United States from the declaration of war to the armistice on November 11, 1918![2] Much has been made of the time lost due to strikes. In the last twenty years the strike loss has been less than 10 per cent of the idleness forced on the miners by the business system.

Finally, consider the waste in keeping up the excess mines—the depreciation of equipment, the repairs, pumping, insurance, interest, taxes, maintenance. And on this excess investment the operators demand their pound of flesh—their profit—while the excess miners can starve to death for all the operator cares—"no work, no pay."

Transportation Wastes

More than one-third of the freight carried by the railroads consists of coal. Coal traffic is double the weight of iron ore, sleet, lumber, wheat, corn, oats and hay combined! And a large percentage of this—about a third—is for the railroad locomotives themselves. In other words, a tremendous amount of railroad horse-power is used up in hauling that horse-power around.

The mines of the country are rated to produce a maximum of 18,000,000 tons a week. The coal cars of the railroads can carry only a maximum of 12,000,000 tons a week away from the mines. Thus the railroads have not enough cars when demand is brisk, and too many cars when demand is slack. Demand is often slack, as we have seen, and that means thousands of railroad cars are lying around eating their heads off in depreciation, repairs, interest, insurance, taxes and maintenance. And on these idle cars, just as on the idle mines, the railroads demand their pound of flesh. Mr. Tryon, of the Geological Survey, has estimated that the railroads have invested as much money in providing equipment to carry coal as the operators have invested in mines to dig coal. So the consumer has to pay not only interest and profit on a huge investment in idle mines, but on an investment just as great in idle railroad cars!

Then, there is the waste in cross-hauling coal. Illinois, Pennsylvania and Indiana mines, sell their coal in twenty different States—many of them coal-producing States. We have the railroads solemnly hauling Illinois coal to Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania coal to Illinois. It is as though the Pittsburg Gas Company ran a pipe line and sold some of its gas to Chicago consumers, while the Chicago Gas Company ran a pipe line and sold gas in Pittsburg. Nobody knows what the waste in cross hauling coal amounts to, because the operators have fought the divulging

[1] Hugh Archibald in the "Survey Graphic" for April, 1922.
[2] F. C. Tryon in the "Survey Graphic" for April, 1922.

of coal facts tooth and nail, but it must be in the millions of tons.

The anthracite industry is monopolized. Monopoly has many disadvantages, but also certain advantages. The anthracite trust (owned by the railroads) has at least solved the problem of seasonal demand. By cutting prices in summer when demand is normally slack, and by working out a system of storing coal, it has cut down the dizzy peaks and depressions in working the mines. It has shown how this waste can be drastically reduced. To this excellent example the bituminous industry to date has not paid the slightest attention. Soft coal is blessed with free competition.

Wastes in Using Coal

All the wastes so far chronicled sink into insignificance beside the appalling waste of our failure to utilize properly the energy contained in coal. Mr. Steinmetz has told us that we let three-fourths of that energy go down the drain pipe. He gives us also a dramatic picture of what the total energy amounts to. The coal mined in America every year would build a wall as high and as solid as the great Chinese wall all around the United States. The energy contained in the coal is sufficient to raise that wall 200 miles in the air!

There have been many suggestions advanced by engineers as to how to get more energy out of coal. One of them is to electrify the railroads. This would save one-half to two-thirds of the coal now used in pushing locomotives, and would give the railroads 12 per cent more carrying power by reason of eliminating locomotive coal. It would also give them more carrying power because of the superior efficiency of electric operation—quicker starts, quicker stops, better control. And smoke and dirt would vanish.

Again, if coal, or a part of it, could be burned at the pit mouth by the Mond process, a great saving in energy would result. The ordinary steam engine uses only 6 per cent of the thermal energy of the coal it burns. By burning coal into gas at the pit mouth and using the product in a gas engine to make electricity, from 70 to 80 per cent of the thermal energy can be captured. In addition, the Mond process throws off, beside gas, a large amount of ammonium sulphate—a most valuable fertilizer. The electricity could be then distributed over the country in high transmission lines, and used for power, heat and light.

Another method of raising energy is to burn coal in a few great central stations which operate steam turbines. A steam turbine saves much more thermal energy than an ordinary steam engine, and is an excellent instrument for producing cheap electricity. This is the so-called super-power plan for electrifying the country—or sections of it. In addition to coal burning, the super-power stations would utilize water power wherever it was available, and thus help to conserve coal for future generations.

And here is a fact of the highest importance: We are going to need coal for untold years to come, for *there is not enough potential water power in the country to meet the power requirements of today!* We are allowing millions of water horse power to run to waste, but even if we captured them all, they could not take the place of coal—probably could not take half its place.

Mr. Steinmetz declares that we use ten times as much coal in heating our houses as we need. This waste can only be saved, however, by constructing a new type of home—a home where the warm, outgoing foul air will be used to heat the pipes of the incoming cold air. With this kind of a system it would be economical to heat houses electrically.

The Miners' Program

John Brophy, of District No. 2, United Mines Workers of America, believes in looking facts in the face. He has looked the fact of coal waste in the face, and has not quivered an eyelash. Although, to eliminate coal waste, it is necessary to eliminate coal miners. His distrust has accepted the fact that, among other things, there are too many men digging coal—or waiting around for a chance to dig coal. They have published a series of pamphlets on the wastes and inefficiencies of coal mining. They have criticised conditions, which, if remedied, would cost many of them their jobs.

This is a pretty big public-spirited thing to do. We have not heard of any operators publishing pamphlets recommending that some of their mines be closed up, and that their investments ought to cease to draw interest. We have not, indeed. The operators are all crying for a "reasonable return" on everything in sight—every prop, pillar and mule. And will continue to do so. It is the nature of the animal.

If wastes in coal are ever to be eliminated, it is the miners and the engineers who must do it. Perhaps the consumer can help a little, too, particularly if he wants a smokeless, dirtless world, with his power, light, and heat, at half the price.

The Amalgamated Pushes Forward

Story of the Big Clothing Workers' Union's Growth in Chicago—and Why

By CARL HAESSLER

OUT of the needle trades have come many of the new tactics which labor has adopted. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, having in mind final control of industry by the workers, have set up arbitration machinery based on consent of those doing the work. Last month they announced the establishment of a labor bank under their control. Chicago is the first city to have an Amalgamated Bank. It is there also that the 1922 Convention of the Amalgamated meets on May 8th. Here is the remarkable story of the Amalgamated's growth in the "Windy City."

THREE more years of peace in the men's clothing industry in Chicago were insured when the Chicago rank and file of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America ratified the new agreement that Sidney Hillman, president of the organization, had negotiated with the Association of Chicago Clothing Manufacturers. The agreement was concluded April 4 and goes into effect May 1, when the present contract negotiated three years ago, expires.

The Union Stands Firm

Both sides claim the advantage. The union, however, with its 40,000 to 50,000 members in Chicago, has yielded practically nothing but an all round cut in wages averaging slightly under 10 per cent and has gained substantial points.

The machinery of job control, of arbitration and negotiation remains intact or is consolidated more securely than before. The union has maintained its position in an adverse period by the effectiveness of its internal discipline and of its outward unity.

During the world war a private in the American army was court-martialed for "glaring contemptuously" at a lieutenant. Since there were other charges against him the court did not find it necessary to convict him on the "glaring" indictment. In the Chicago market the position of privates and officers is reversed. It is now privates in the clothing army that bring such charges against the lieutenants, the foremen.

How Complaints Are Handled

One big room in the Amalgamated headquarters at 509 South Halsted Street is devoted to receiving complaints brought in by union members. These range from the most trivial to momentous issues of union policy. Each complaint is investigated by a union deputy as the business agents are called, and the particulars are noted on a special form. Usually a consultation with the labor manager—the business agent of the employer—settles the difficulty. If not, there are channels of appeal.

Here is a specimen complaint: "The section of pocketmakers had work left over from Friday. This work would be the start for their work today, but when they came this morning, they had to wait for work."

The disposition of this complaint is business-like and judicial: "There is no way of proving this complaint."

A wage complaint reads as follows: "She complains that she was hired on $32 a week but she was paid on $25 basis."

The disposition by the union deputy scores heavily against the complaint: "There was no agreement made on $32. She was told she will be paid $25 and she admitted that."

And here is a case of contemptuous glaring, or rather its next door neighbor, mingled with a jurisdictional dispute: "The examiner is doing the busheling (the final loving touch given to a suit). This same examiner uses profane language to the off-pressers."

Disposition: "The examiner was instructed not to do busheling any more."

But alas for the off-pressers. The charge of profanity was ignored.

The Courts of Appeal

Complaints that are not satisfactorily adjusted can be carried higher in two days. If the union member believes the deputy is not acting fairly by him, charges may be brought against the deputy before the appeal committee of the joint board. The joint board is a purely internal body of the union which enforces discipline on the members. Each local elects delegates to the joint board in accordance with its numerical strength. The board's appeal committee is subordinate to the

board itself. The board bows to the general executive board of the entire organization and the executive board acknowledges the supreme will of the convention. Thus the off-pressers, for example, who objected to the examiner's profanity, had six successive agencies within the union to whom they might have carried their case.

On the other hand, if the deputy's ruling is objected to by the employer through the labor manager, the matter can be taken before the trade board. The trade board consists of an impartial chairman and of representatives not to exceed five in number from each side. It handles detail work of interpretation of agreements and attempts to adjust the human factors in the industry. The trade board's rulings are usually accepted.

Resort to Arbitration

But if either side feels aggrieved there is the arbitration board. The arbitration board consists of three members: Prof. H. A. Millis, University of Chicago, impartial chairman; Carl Meyer, representing the employers; Sidney Hillman, representing the workers. In addition to being the court of last appeal, the arbitration board has wide interpretative powers and has also in the past taken legislative powers which are now expressly abolished by the new agreement.

The limitation of powers is regarded favorably by both sides because an element of uncertainty has been removed or at least reduced to a point where it can be removed, not by outside decision, but by negotiation.

Union members thus have their joint board—their police court as it were—and they have the trade board and arbitration board—the circuit and supreme courts of the industry.

In Chicago there are three trade boards. Hart, Schaffner & Marx, the first to install the arbitration machinery, have their own board, headed by James Mullenbach. The rest of the Chicago market is presided over by B. M. Squires and his associate, Thomas A. Allinson.

There is a large staff of labor managers acting for the employers and a staff of about 35 deputies for the union. The labor manager is in the unenviable position of a man who is supposed to "understand" and sympathize with the workers, but who gets his wages from the employers.

Union deputies fall into two fairly distinct categories. There is the old time dogged, shrewd, hardhitting and respected fighter, a pioneer in the union, and there is the more suave, diplomatic, smiling younger representative, who yields gracefully only to more than regain his position a moment later.

Labor managers would classify Samuel Levin, general manager for the Amalgamated in Chicago, in the first group. No one doubts the integrity of any of the Amalgamated representatives. The harshest criticism is that some of them are "narrow."

To this Levin answers: "No doubt this is true. The same criticism holds of the labor managers. We are constantly improving our personnel."

The New Employment Machinery

Levin also admits that the employment machinery of the union is not yet what it should be. Under the system of union job control, the employer who wants help notifies the union. The union sends over an applicant from its waiting list who is then put on two weeks probation. If he is acceptable during that period he must be retained by the firm until he is dismissed for just cause, subject to review by the union deputy and the trade board, if necessary. The employers complain that frequently the wrong kind of man for the job is sent over. They say the union should have a better line on the special ability and training of its members and fit them into jobs more accurately. Levin does not deny this but says the machinery is new and is being constantly improved. One of the union victories scored in the new agreement is the retention of the two-week probation period. The employers wanted the probation extended to four weeks, or practically one-third of the busy season.

Hear It Grow!

Amalgamated history in Chicago dates back over 10 years. Although the first general agreement was signed in 1919 for a three-year period, earlier separate contracts had been made. Hart, Schaffner & Marx began their pioneer labor management in 1910.

The Amalgamated grew rapidly from about 3,000 members at the start to 40,000 in 1919. The present membership fluctuates with market conditions but averages between 40,000 and 50,000. Membership dues in Chicago are $2.00 a month flat, except for cutters and trimmers who pay $2.25 because their local treasury gets a larger rebate from the general treasury. A membership book issued in any Amalgamated town in the country is universally valid. Organizers work on a strict salary basis. They are reaching out constantly from Chicago in the attempt to sew up the clothing field on a union basis.

Clothing manufacturers in Chicago affected by the agreement number over 200, not counting subcontractors, and represent a capital estimated at far above $100,000,000. In 1917 Hart, Schaffner & Marx alone did a business of $75,000,000, Amalgamated officials say.

It is generally believed that the big firms are more friendly to the union than the smaller concerns. This is probably because the big fellow can adapt himself to union requirements regarding the equal distribution of work to union members and to union job control more advantageously than can the smaller fry. The attempt of the manufacturers to wrest job control from the union failed.

A feature of the agreement is the inclusion of a provision for enabling the trade to deal with the unemployment which used to be chronic because of the seasonal nature of the industry. Although reduced to some extent unemployment is still a severe blight.

Nothing specific has been done toward establishing the unemployment fund proposed by Leo Wolman, chief, research department of the union, but the Chicago union is permitted to bring the matter up before the expiration of one year and to terminate the entire agreement if no settlement is reached. Wolman's plan would make unemployment a charge on the industry instead of on the worker, making the employer responsible financially for finding work for his employees. The union would probably consent to a modification which would put part of the expense upon the worker.

Thousands for Education

In addition to its strictly economic activity, the Amalgamated in Chicago as elsewhere devotes time and money to education and recreation. The Chicago union spends $20,000 to $30,000 a year on lectures, concerts, entertainments and its own library. The national organization donated $100,000 to the steel workers in the great steel strike of 1919 and has collected $175,000 up-to-date for Russian relief. The Los Angeles sanitarium for consumptives has benefited to the extent of $15,000.

These "extra-curricular" activities have helped to endear the union to its members. The Amalgamated has profited immensely from a leadership that is not limited in vision to the immediate job. That is one element in the strength which enabled it to negotiate the new agreement.

In presenting their twelve demands on February 14, the manufacturers complained that, "whereas the spirit of the agreement calls for the most cordial cooperation of the union in meeting the situations employers have to face, the efforts to adopt the administration of business to the unprecedented conditions of the last two years have met with persistent obstruction and annoyance, with the result that the agreement has become in practice not an instrument of cooperation but one of repression and legal technicalities."

The Twelve Demands

This charge was little more than a wordy barrage, like the majority of the twelve demands, as a comparison of them with the final agreement will show.

The manufacturers demanded:

1. That selection of workers must be entrusted again to the employer. In the agreement selection remains with the union. Probation is to last four weeks instead of two. It remains at two.

2. That hiring and firing must become a prerogative of the employer. The union, however, retained its job control.

3. That equal distribution of work must yield to efficiency. In the outcome "efficiency" lost.

4. That entire freedom of management be conceded to the employer. The agreement continues to safeguard the worker.

5. That piece work for trimmers be restored and that week-work standards be enforced more vigorously. Nothing doing in the agreement.

6. That piece work be extended at will. No luck.

7. That the 48-hour week displace the 44-hour week. No displacement.

8. That wages be cut 25 per cent. Wages actually were cut 10 per cent, with a minimum of $39 and $35 a week for cutters and tailors respectively.

9. That peak piece rates in certain shops be trimmed down. Lost in the shuffle.

10. That holiday pay be abolished. Not mentioned, but subject perhaps to supplementary negotiation.

11. That final examiners (inspecting tailors) be not included in the agreement. Motion lost.

12. That necessary administrative changes for the better enforcement of rules by the employers be permitted. Laid on the table.

"The new agreement," the Amalgamated announced, "preserves for the Amalgamated and its 50,000 members the essential conditions for which it had fought for 10 years, and which it won throughout the city of Chicago in 1919. It is of great significance to the country that this momentous experiment in the peaceful adjustment of industrial disputes will continue as an example for other industries."

Industrial peace seems directly proportionate to the power of unions to enforce it.

The International Sets the Pace

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

OUT of a mass of disorganized workers, in the big clothing strike of 12 years ago, arose the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Previous to that time it had been a small organization with little power and influence.

From the very beginning of its new era the union began to think in new and larger terms. It was not concerned only in the immediate fight of labor for hours and wages, but also in the final goal of the labor movement. Its members thought of the day when the industry in which they worked would be conducted for service and not for private profit.

It also struck out boldly into other new fields. One of the first fruits of this policy was the establishment of an educational department. This marks the beginning of workers' education in America. Twenty-eight hundred pupils attended the primary courses in the so-called "Unity Centers" of the International last year. These centers are located in public school buildings and offer a wide variety of courses—ranging from English to lectures on art and music. The centers increased in number last year from six to nine, and are supplemented by a workers' university, with a registration of 300. An extension division carries the message of education to a still wider group by means of special lectures, concerts and entertainments. During the recent big garment strike educational classes were conducted for the strikers, and post-graduate courses have been given by the department to the officials of the union. This work has not been confined to New York, where the greater number of the union membership lives, but special arrangements have also been made with the Boston Trade Union College to carry on similar work there.

One of the most significant steps taken by the International was the establishment of the Union Health Center, in New York, two years ago. Through the clinics carried on there, and the regular lectures on health topics and the prevention of disease, the Center has done a splendid service to the workers of the Greater City. They no longer have to rely on social service agencies under the control of anti-labor forces! In addition to the direct medical and dental work, the Center also engages in health education, through the distribution of pamphlets, leaflets and special lectures and entertainments on the problems of health and factory sanitation.

The health work does not stop here, however, for "Unity Houses" are being located in the heart of the mountains or along the seashore, at places where the members of the union may go to rest and play and be made whole again.

To the Sixteenth Biennial Convention, opening in Cleveland on May 1st, the general executive board has recommended another important step toward making the Union self-sufficient and its members independent. This is the proposal to establish unemployment insurance under the Union's auspices and control. The board asks for power to study the insurance business, with a view to putting an unemployment insurance plan into effect. If the officials act with the speed and splendid planning that marked the building of their new home at the cost of $150,000, the members will soon be enjoying protection from out-of-work periods and crises, that will put the International at least on a par with the railroad brotherhoods in this respect.

The International has also participated actively in the general labor movement. It has actively entered political campaigns in support of labor candidates. It has generously supported The Labor Press and Labor Educational Institutions. It has given aggressive assistance to the amnesty movement. It has not hesitated to think of establishing its own stores and factories, as a preparation for the democratic control of the whole industry. Because of the industrial depression, these latter plans could not be carried out. But the statement of the Executive Board is so vigorously in favor of such steps that there is no doubt they will be put into effect before many years have passed.

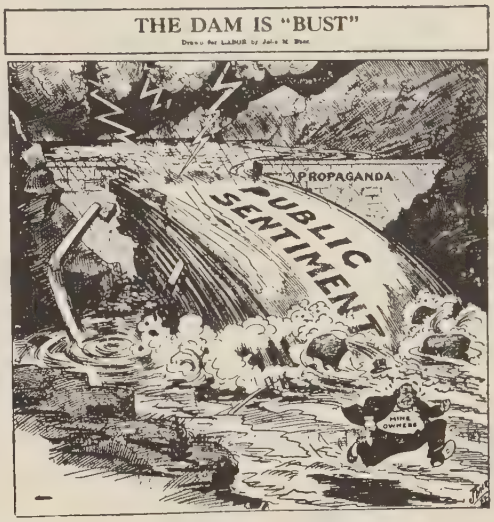
The whole effort of the International along new lines, summed up, is so constructive and fits the Union so well for actual administration of industry that its step into control, when it comes to pass, is bound to be successful. Muscles when used tend to grow and become hard. The Union, in thinking and acting along lines of self-sufficiency—in education, health, manufacturing—is growing every day better able to stand on its own feet, win its immediate fight, and assume the larger job of industrial control.

The Big Coal Strike

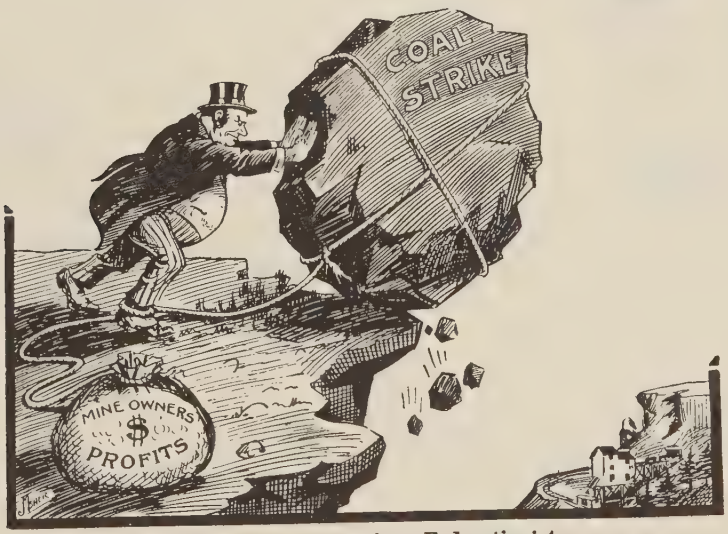
As Seen by Labor's Artists

Ryan Walker in New York Call

TAKE THIS PICK! YOU ARE THE ONE I WANT TO WORK IN THE MINES FOR ME AND MY PROFITS!
LOW WAGES
OPEN SHOP
MONEY POWER
COAL MINES PRIVATELY OWNED



J. M. Baer in Labor



J. M. Baer in American Federationist

Robert Minor in The Worker

HOIST THE FLAG!

Robert Minor in The Worker

"It's the biggest strike in the history of the world." "Except the Russian Revolution." "Yes, that was a strike too."

The Big Coal Strike

As Seen by the Labor Press

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST
April, 1922.

Beyond doubt the mine owners have carefully planned their program with the view to clearing from their road the only obstacle to absolute autocracy in the mines, the only effective obstacle to unlimited robbery of the public and the only effective obstacle to unlimited exploitation of the mine workers.

It is the height of unprincipled brutality to suggest that a partial shortage of coal, in the event of a strike, may be the means of gaining public sympathy and support for the most ruthless, conscienceless pirates and profiteers in American industrial life.

American labor is unwilling to believe that American citizenship generally gives its sympathies to brutality and injustice on such terms.

But, come what may, let this be made clear to all: The American labor movement stands unequivocally, irrevocably, with the Mine Workers of America in this and every struggle for justice, against autocratic domination by employers whose chief aim is profit, and whose last thought is for the army of humanity that produces for the benefit and progress of society.

UNITED MINE WORKERS' JOURNAL
April 15, 1922

As if by magic, there has arisen in this country, within the last two weeks, a tremendous demand for some sort of reorganization and stabilization of the coal industry, so that it may be cured of the ills with which it is afflicted. The people have awakened to the fact that there is something wrong, and that the coal industry will not be what it should be until the evils are removed. The sudden realization of this fact has caused the public to sit up and take notice.

From all parts of the country there is now coming a rising chorus of demand for action by Congress along that line. And Congress itself is beginning to see that it is expected to do something. But what is to be done is still a question.

Newspapers and the public are clamoring for regulative legislation by Congress. It has been pointed out that the coal industry is woefully over-developed; that there are too many mines and too many men employed; that the mines cannot operate on anything like a full-time basis; that miners are unable to earn a living because of the irregular employment; that the cost of coal to the consumer is too high, and must be brought down to a lower level; that the entire industry is suffering because of these things.

It is certain that there can never be an era of permanent peace in the coal mining business until something is done to remove the causes of the troubles that arise from time to time. The mere settlement of a strike does not settle the fundamental questions involved, nor does it remove the cause of these recurring troubles. First of all, the causes must be searched out and then removed. Once that is accomplished there will come lasting peace, and the industry will prosper.

TOM MOONEY'S MONTHLY
March, 1922.

The United Mine Workers of America are industrially organized. They are the backbone of the American labor movement. Upon the outcome of the impending struggle will depend the fate of the rest of the movement. The mine owners have waxed fat in their wealth—in the robbery of the miners. They now try to conceal the riches they have made from the labor of union miners they now seek to crush. They have invoked the aid of Wall Street's courts to help them conceal their loot. The Supreme Court for the District of Columbia has issued a permanent injunction, or what amounts to the same, enjoining the Federal Trade Commission from "demanding or taking any steps to demand" information from corporations in coal mining, production costs, sales prices and such other information that would give the lie to the claim that the high cost of coal to the consumer is due to wages paid the miner.

What would coal diggers expect from a court that Wall Street controls? There is one course left open to the union miners—fight! It is better to starve fighting than to starve without a fight.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER
April 8, 1922.

There are two things especially noticeable about this episode in the class war. The first is that the operators have cynically abandoned any pretense of being attacked by a rapacious group of working men. We do not hear much of the old bunk about the strike being forced upon the public-spirited owners. There are not many appeals to the sympathy of the "middle classes," the farmers,

etc. Instead, the talk is all in terms of power. The coal mine owners say they will win, because there are enough reserves on hand to keep the country running until the miners freeze or starve.

The other most noteworthy aspect of the strike is the pitiful eagerness of the union officials to negotiate. It is the union leaders who take the initiative in all attempts to prevent or call off the walkout. The unions demand their right to conference, guaranteed them in their agreement with operators and government. Also, it is the unions who make the appeal to the country at large. The unions point out that there is really no strike, but

a lockout, caused by the insistence on the part of the bosses for a cut in wages and removal of guarantees for working conditions of a certain standard.

It is quite plain that labor fights again on the defensive. Labor has a right to the full product of its toil, and should be attacking. All that it does now is to protest against exclusion from that part of the product the masters in their mercy granted it in the past.

THE HEADGEAR WORKER
March 24, 1922.

The mine owners feel that they have the whiphand. The prevailing industrial depression and widespread unemployment seemed too good an opportunity to the mine barons, and they would stop at nothing that would enable them to take advantage of the bad times in order to make another attempt to break the backbone of the miners' union, and put all the coal miners in the same distressing and revolting state of actual starvation and servitude, as that the West Virginia miners are subjected to. Ours is an acquisitive society. The dollar sign reigns supreme. Profiteering is above all. And in order to squeeze out more profits out of the sweat and labors of the miners all means are good enough for the absentee mine lords.

The mine owners did not create the mines; they did not discover them; they did not contribute any personal effort whatsoever towards their development. And, nevertheless, before any return could be made on invested capital, the mine owners must be paid their royalties first. Royalties, indeed, for they are based on exactly the same principle and are not a bit more justified than the tributes exacted by the royalty, by kings, barons and czars of the middle ages.

THE WORKER
April 22, 1922.

With a solidarity never before equalled in labor history, the great mass of coal miners is out on strike. They have come from underground, from pit and shaft, where they have spent so many years in dangerous racking toil. The coal diggers have accepted the challenge flung in their teeth by the organized coal operators.

This fight is only a part of the general drive initiated by the combined capitalist employers of the country to smash all working class organizations, reduce wages below the level of subsistence and establish the *SCAB SHOP*, with a return to conditions more abhorrent than absolute slavery.

The mine workers and their families were condemned to starvation conditions while the operators revelled in luxury at the pleasure resorts.

The capitalist class is spreading its poisonous propaganda and has its agents amongst the miners in an effort to demoralize their ranks. Many of the miners' officials were asleep at their posts and neglected to organize the unorganized fields during the war.

Consequently the miners now have to suffer, for if all the fields had then been organized, the miners' union would now be able to win its demands without a strike. All such officials should and must be relegated to the rear and kept safely out of office. The fight to clean the union has to be kept up.

But it must not interfere with the common struggle against the mine owners. The miners are in this fight to win and they cannot *NOW* waste time and energy in useless wrangling among themselves. Unbroken solidarity against the mine owners must be preserved at all costs.

MIAMI VALLEY SOCIALIST
April 7, 1922.

What have the owners done with the industry? Practically every survey made of American industries agrees that the coal industry is the worst organized and the worst managed in the United States. In many respects it is the worst managed in the world.

Consider the average time worked in a number of countries in the pre-war year of 1913: Austria, 320 days; Prussia, 317; Belgium, 298; United Kingdom, 290; France, 289. In the bituminous fields of the United States it was 232. The chronic waste of time each year has been notorious. It has meant wasted lives for many. It is estimated that in the last thirty years on the average of three working days out of ten have been lost.

A survey made by the United States Geological Survey reveals these facts. It also reveals that the owners have never stabilized production to meet market needs and transportation. Car shortage has been a notorious defect of coal production. In the matters of time, labor, marketing and transportation the industry in the hands of its owners reveals ignorance, incapacity and indifference to glaring defects of the system.

Yet those anarchs of the coal fields, managing the industry with no more ability than a child trying to direct a delicate machine, seek the destruction of the miners' organization. If the union were destroyed, the one intelligent force trying to bring some order out of chaos would disappear. The owning anarchs would be supreme and their rickety structure would spread more desolation than ever.

"The United Front" on May Day

Discussed by Ludwig Lore, Communist, and James Oneal, Socialist

THE RETREAT OF MOSCOW

By JAMES ONEAL of The New York Call

MAY DAY, since 1889, has been Labor's day in Europe. It is also celebrated by sections of the American labor movement. The big internal question before European labor on May Day is the "United Front." We here give a view of this problem by a leading American Socialist and Communist.

AFTER years of demoralization in the labor and Socialist movement of the world, there are unmistakable signs of reunion. The world war, like an electric shock, dissolved the movement into fragments. What had been a movement became a maze of quarreling factions. In the meantime, the enemies of the labor fraternity in the warring countries raised barriers of censorship and fed the masses with propaganda bearing the stamp of the various imperialist states.

It is certain that practically all the "news" that was supplied the masses in each country during the war bore little resemblance to realities. The quarrels among the organized masses were largely based upon and revolved around this unreal "news."

The return of the "peace" era brought with it an opportunity to close up the divided ranks and prepare for the reaction that was certain to follow. The overthrow of Russian Czarism and the ascent of the masses to power in Russia gave to the Russian leaders the moral right to lead in the reconstruction of the shattered forces of the workers in all countries.

Instead of using their great opportunity, the Russian leaders proceeded to complete the destruction which the war imperialists had begun. They formulated an international ritual and articles of faith based upon their own experience under a Slav despotism that had ruled for centuries. They hurled anathemas into the camp of every labor union and Socialist party in the world. They set the movement to quarreling over past mistakes which it was impossible to undo.

Splitting the Movement

ALREADY divided into factions in all the countries, labor was split by the Russian initiative into even more divisions. This policy was adopted deliberately and openly. The Bolshevik leaders undertook to explain the colossal upheaval of capitalism that shook the world and the failure of the masses in many countries correctly to interpret it in terms of individual responsibility. Certain "leaders" had "betrayed" the movement, as though the leaders did not accurately represent thousands and millions of the rank and file and their views. If there was any "betrayal" it was certain that the masses themselves shared in it, although with the best intentions in the world.

A process of separating the "sheep" from the "goats" began, but even here there was no consistency. A leader might have served as an errand boy of his own imperialists, as Cachin did in France, yet he was accepted as against Longuet, who had not supported the war. In Italy a number of the most incorrigible supporters of Italian imperialism were accepted as leaders of the Communist faith, while anti-war Socialists were excommunicated by the Moscow fathers.

So the process of division which began with the war itself was continued as a deliberate policy by the Communist leaders of Russia and their allies in other countries. The result has been a progressive weakening of the organized masses in every country, while black reaction has been securely enthroned.

Moscow Retreats

IN the meantime, however, no movement has ever made more mistakes in judging the world situation than has the Communist movement. No party has ever made more mistakes than has the Communist party of Russia. For months it has been executing "strategic retreats" back to capitalism. It admits these "retreats." It has attempted to do what no Socialist movement in the world has ever admitted could be done—leap over the capitalistic stage of development into a Socialist Commonwealth.

The leaders were going to "show us how." They are now showing us how to retreat back to the stage over which they thought they could leap. They have shown us that "revolutionary" proclamations and numerous "theses" cannot summon from the depths the economic basis for a Socialist society. They have confirmed the Socialist view that this basis is a product of historical development, not of "revolutionary" proclamations.

But the policy of sowing further dissensions in the ranks of the organized masses of all countries has also deprived the Russians of that concerted and unified support against imperialist intervention in Russia which would otherwise have been theirs. The Socialist parties that suffered at the hands of the Communists had become too feeble to give their protests any great prestige in their respective countries. The result is that bandit leader after bandit leader was supported by the imperialist powers against Russia. The ruling classes had little to fear from a working class that was divided into numerous factions as a result of the abortive policies of the Communists.

"The United Front"

HOWEVER, there are unmistakable signs of a return to sanity and the beginnings of a movement more powerful than ever. In this country we were the first to be effected by the "left sickness," and here the recovery is also much slower. But the sudden

about-face of the Communists in favor of what they call a "united front" is conclusive evidence that the Communist movement is on the decline in each country. This is the beginning of unity.

Not that this means that the Communists desire unity. It is a "tactical maneuver," as Radek put it, an attempt to gain access to and contact with other organizations. It is another "strategic retreat." Another year will witness a further decline of the disruptive element in the international movement. All that is required is time to liquidate it. For the moment the spectacle of Communist leaders going so far as to pretend a desire to fraternize with "social traitors," "agents of the bourgeoisie," "the lackeys of imperialism," is about the most amusing thing that has occurred in a generation.

In Italy the Communist movement is on the decline, and as it loses what prestige it had, a reunion of the masses around the Socialist party is certain. In France the Communist party which Zinoviev obtained by two "forced marches" is divided and on the decline. In Germany, the abortive March "putsch," ordered by Moscow and which sacrificed the lives of many German workers, has disgusted Levi and his group who have united with the Independents. In England, because of the great mass movement of the organized masses, the Communists never constituted any important factor, and they are not likely to now.

In the United States the drift towards a united mass party of the workers is evident, and this may be accomplished in the next few years. The latest Communist party has no more than appeared in the field than another Communist organization follows upon its heels and hurls the most venomous epithets at it. It thus repeats the history of every one of these organizations since their first appearance in 1919.

Time and patience are working towards a reunion of the scattered forces of the unions and the Socialist parties in all countries. Chastened by the insanity of a war-mad world, learning lessons from the sectarian schisms that have strengthened reaction in all countries, the workers for a liberated humanity will gather the broken bonds together.

When the "next war" comes the tragic experience reaped since 1914 will serve as an invaluable guide for policies in the future. The idea that there is one bond that is enduring and that recognizes no frontiers will have lodged in the consciousness of millions. That bond is the fraternity of labor of all nationalities, creeds and colors. This bond will eventually tie the masses of all countries into a common solidarity. It will bring a world in which every day will be a May Day, a world that will leave the sad and mad era of today only a hated memory in the minds of millions.

THE UNITED FRONT—HERE AND IN EUROPE

By LUDWIG LORE

In "The Worker."

THE Unity Conference of the three Internationals in Berlin was a signal success. Its task, the creation of an understanding and of a basis for united action, was fulfilled.

The calling of an international congress at which all Communist and Socialist parties are to be represented, was decided upon and April 20th, set for the date of the first unified undertaking—workers' demonstrations all over Europe.

That is no mean achievement—more than most of us dared to hope for, more than it seemed possible to accomplish.

That it was possible was due in no small measure to the influence of the capitalist press which was so blatant in its jubilation over the apparent failure of the unity plan, that it betrayed all too clearly its own fear of the contemplated move.

Above all, however, unity became a fact because it answers a crying need of the times, because conditions in Europe leave the working class no other choice.

They must unite, or allow the powerful flood of capitalist reaction to sweep everything before it. Only a strong, well organized labor movement can hope to ward off further wage reductions and to stem the flood of attacks upon the organizations of the working class.

The Russian Influence

Then there is Soviet Russia. The victorious Allies fully intended to use the Genoa Conference to bring pressure to bear upon the Soviet Republic for its final and complete industrial subjection.

For this move the crafty Lloyd George counted upon the support—or at any rate upon the silent assent—of the "labor parties" and of the right Social-Democrats of the European nations. * * *

In this critical situation there was no choice. Some means must be found of co-ordinating those proletarian groups and Socialist parties that exercise political influence or can bring industrial pressure to bear upon their governments.

The Labor Parties and the Social-Democrats, on the other hand, were in no position to repel the offered hand of friendship.

They feared that the leaders of the Russian revolutionary government might enter into contracts and complete arrangements that would possibly react unfavorably upon industrial conditions in their own countries.

Germany, for instance, cannot count upon industrial rehabilitation for years to come unless the Versailles treaty undergoes radical alteration. For Austria this holds doubly true in regard to the treaty of St. Germaine.

The French and British working classes, again, fear the competition of German and Austrian starvation wages, —that product of mark depreciation, more even than their own capitalist class.

Furthermore, even the farthest right of Social-Democracies has a lively interest in the continued existence of Soviet Russia. Not that they feel its greatness and its promise to the proletariat. * * * But it is invaluable as a scarecrow with which the capitalist class of their own countries can be bluffed into some show of reason. * * *

The Berlin Accomplishments

THE unity conference bases its plans of action upon seven points of unification. "No. 1" calls for the election of a committee of nine for the arrangement of an international proletarian congress at which all communist, socialist, syndicalist and labor parties are to be represented.

The outcome of this Congress—let us not give way to extravagant hopes—will be meager enough. The elements to be brought together are fundamentally inimical.

Since the Congress must, above all, emphasize the united will of all these elements to accomplish certain definitely expressed objects, everything will have to be avoided that may create differences of opinion, and all resolutions and motions will have to be so carefully adjusted, balanced, and counter-balanced that they will lose all practical significance and force. * * *

The second point pledges the Executive Committees of the three Internationals to establish amicable relations between the Amsterdam and the Red Trade Union Internationals and to do away, as much as possible, with friction between the two wings.

Only a short time ago Moscow attempted to establish such a labor union united front. * * * The Amsterdamers were by no means opposed to a world congress, provided the Red Trade Union Congress was disregarded, since it "represents nothing and nobody." They were willing to grant spokesmen to the Russian labor unions.

Obstacles

THE same difficulty is experienced in the desire to avoid clashes between the parties. So long as there are so many different elements that cannot be united into an organization whole, so long friction will be unavoidable.

We might possibly conceive of reasonably harmonious relations between the parties of the Third and of the Second and a Half International.

On the other hand, we can see not even the remotest likelihood of united action between communists and the socialists of the Second International.

The general strike that put an end to the Kapp putsch and the recent German railway strike are two examples. In both instances the marriage was dissolved before the honeymoon was over. Experience has shown that these social-democratic parties, once they have whetted their appetites by a taste from the government troughs, become more and more conservative and unsocialistic. The tendency of their development is never toward radicalization. * * *

Points three and four dealing with the fate of indicted revolutionaries in Russia are unimportant, since the Soviet Government has long ago declared that these counter-revolutionary "heroes" shall receive open and public trial, and that they shall be accorded every legal protection.

No death penalty threatens these assassins of the "right," however, richly they may have deserved it. The Bolsheviki judge crimes of four years standing with the utmost mildness. They have no desire to emulate Ebert, the Bavarian Hoffman and Noske.

Besides, the political situation at the present time would make it more than foolhardy to undertake to punish acts committed in the first revolutionary period too severely.

Point five calls, as we have mentioned before, for a political demonstration on April 20th, which will certainly call forth a tremendous response—in Europe, altho the slogans and objects are of significance for only a few of the European nations.

The Call for Unity

THERE is something fascinating about the call for a united front. It hypnotizes us and the hope stirs softly within us that the time may come again when there will be only one Socialist party and one International.

But the supporters of neither the Third nor the Second International are thinking of organic unity, of an amalgamation of organizations.

Their sole purpose is a co-ordination of efforts between the various parties and organizations for certain definite aims and demands.

They emphatically declare that there is no conceivable possibility of doing away with existing separate party organizations, that to do this would mean to betray the principles that each party in contrast to other internationals and other parties, upholds and propagates.

The party splits in the various countries did not arise out of personal issues. The leaders did not precipitate disharmony in otherwise united movements.

Revolutionary socialists all over the world were forced by a precipitation of events to realize that the existing Socialist movement had become reformistic and anti-revolutionary. Socialist reformers had defeated the world revolution. The victorious Russian revolution was thrown backward in its development for decades by the weakness and the betrayal of the West European working class.

The Third International and its parties have set out to teach the proletariat of the world anew, to familiarize it with the A B C of revolutionary, of Marxian Socialism, to replace a phantastic romanticism with the hard necessity of preparing for the social revolution. They have only just begun. Nowhere have they even approached completion. * * *

Misinterpretations

AND yet the rôle of a united front has frequently been so interpreted. Here in the United States the same over-enthusiastic elements that frantically preached "armed uprisings" only a few years ago, and prophesized the coming of the social revolution in this country "in a few months" as an absolute certainty, are now rejoicing at the prospect of a united front.

In the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Greater New York, for instance, a motion was made demanding the united front for the November campaign.

It was proposed to unite the Workers' Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, and other working-class bodies upon one ticket to oppose the capitalist enemy.

Under existing conditions this would give the reformistic group the upper hand. * * *

The Communist movement in the United States was shipwrecked in the year of its launching because it slavishly copied European methods and swallowed unthinkingly European ideas.

Let us beware, lest we wreck our movement again by making the same mistake!

Psychology and the Workers

The Creative and Aesthetic Instincts

By PRINCE HOPKINS

THE most baffling, in many respects, of all of our instincts are those connected with pro-creation. Yet from this group of impulses we get a drive toward that which is highest in our nature and in our civilization.

In the animal kingdom, the contest with nature and other species is so severe that a great proportion of those born are immediately destroyed. It goes without saying that only those species survive in this struggle which multiply proportionately faster than their rapid death rate. Primitive peoples had also to be prolific in order to overcome the destructive forces of pestilence, famines and wars—evils usually regarded as visitations of an inscrutable Providence, or the result of an unchangeable "human nature," from which it was impious or impracticable for man to hope to free himself.

Conflicting Views

In present-day society, there is a growing conflict between those who urge the prolific breeding observed in former times, and those whose ideal is a more gradual increase in the population. The possessing groups generally find it to their economic advantage to encourage the development of large families among the workers. For the more numerous the workers, the greater the competition for jobs, and the easier it is to break strikes, to lower wages, and to secure recruits to aid in imperialistic exploits. Churches, schools and other agencies of public opinion could usually be depended upon to lend their encouragement to the large family ideals. Legislators have blocked efforts to disseminate birth-control information, and governments have at times given premiums to prolific parents. On the other hand, there is a growing realization on the part of the people that it is unfair to bring children into an already overcrowded world, without likelihood of proper support.

The sexual instinct in men, however, is not lessened by the knowledge that it cannot be given rein in free and primitive fashion. The proper regulation of sex thus remains one of man's chief problems. And in modern society, as Dr. Sigmund Freud points out, the combination of continual stimulation and the continual repression of the sex instinct is one of the main causes of the nervousness which is such a deplorable feature of our civilization.

Effect of the Profit System

The present profiteering order of society greatly augments this evil. Men write books, print pictures, present plays, design clothes, with the object of exciting this impulse and of gaining thereby big rewards. This aside from engaging in such illicit trades as the criminal white slave traffic.

At the same time obstacles are placed by modern society in the way of a normal sex life. The cost of living and the migratory nature of the employment of many make it increasingly difficult for the young man and woman to marry at as young an age as formerly. Our class system of society leads to many marriages where man and wife are ill-mated, and the poverty and insecurity in thousands of homes is a potent influence in breaking up family life. These conditions, among others, tend still further to augment the evil of prostitution, thus commercializing the most sacred things in life for the sake of gold and incidentally spreading disease among untold numbers of innocent people.

Sublimation

This dilemma does have a solution. Through the process known as sublimation, the sexual instinct can be translated to a higher emotional activity. Sublimation is affected most easily, as a rule, through religion, art, creative activity, service to a cause.

Formerly religious devotion could be counted upon and to a lesser extent, can still be counted upon, to provide a channel for self-expression for millions. And in such devotion may be seen very visibly the element of love. For those who have given up their religion, and who have not as yet become absorbed in some creative art or in some great cause, the dilemma still remains.

The Creative Instinct

The creative instinct as such pervades much of our life. It is seen in the attempts of devotees of religion to construct in their mind's eye

the "kingdoms of God." The mother draws upon this impulse in rearing her children for lives of future usefulness. It is utilized by the engineer in his constructive projects; by the business man in his dreams of future commercial empires; by the worker, in his militant activity for a better world. One is pretty certain of finding the secret of a serene and ripe happiness in life in some activity which includes the creative appeal.

Service

The happiness which one attains as a result of any great interest of this kind is largely dependent on the abandon with which one throws himself into its service. In all matters of love, half-heartedness and lack of faith are disastrous.

Yet, when an individual has decided to sacrifice for his work all lesser considerations, there develops a new and subtle danger which is likely to bring disaster on those failing to meet the problem squarely. That danger lies in the difficulty of reconciling the conflicting claims of work and of home life.

However important the cause he serves may be, the *average* man is likely to sacrifice that cause rather than see his wife and children suffer. This fact is taken advantage of by many who want to stifle the enthusiasm of advocates of fundamental change. During the war many government agents, seeking to put a quietus on the pacifist, first terrified the women of the family. It is a truism that "he who marries and has children, gives hostages to fortune." With women, marriage generally means the end of active participation in militant movements. With men, it usually leads to a more cautious attitude of mind. Such a sacrifice of the greater love to the lesser, of the humanitarian to the personal, is very human and very forgivable, but still none the less to be deprecated.

The Martyr Type

A rare few go to the other extreme of sacrificing the family interests entirely to the cause. These are the martyr types. For this type there exists a special temptation of self-conceit. In an attempt to inure themselves against softness, the martyrs tend to develop a new intolerance of which those who are nearest to them become the victims. They take pride in the breadth of their sympathies, and give little heed to the danger of developing a corresponding unsympathetic attitude toward their family, from whom they must constantly withhold the comforts of life. This denial, perceived by others, is often held against the very cause in the name of which they have sacrificed.

It should be observed that only that creative work gives true happiness which is not done for the sake of selfish happiness, and which can thus be embraced with an enthusiasm admitting of no rival love. It must therefore be a work the importance of which morally justifies such a sacrifice. The sacrifice must be made because of a genuine feeling that it is an inescapable duty; performed not out of lack of love, but humbly out of greater love.

Art and the Radical

Besides religion, creative activity and service, one other impulse remains to be considered—art. Those religions which have held their adherents most successfully have expressed themselves through art. They originated in the days in which the magic was supposed to be connected with ceremonials. These primitive religions gave ear not always to the voice of reason, but always to that of emotion. They borrowed from each other the most attractive legends they could find, renamed them and dressed them up for new dramatic presentations. Contrast the stately pageants of Rome, inherited from Egypt, and the chants of the Greek church, with the noisy meetings of radicals in unpicturesque halls, and you realize one of the reasons why the old retains its hold, and the new struggles desperately to gain converts.

Our intellectuals must become more wise in their generation. Our "wobblies" have taken the right step. They not only *discuss* around their "jungles," but they *sing*. When the workers shall be able to make their meeting places beautiful, and when they shall begin to realize the importance of music, then they will no longer find the comrades too tired to come to meetings. And frequency of gathering together feeds the fires of any new movement.

In that day art, too, will take a step forward, for it will no longer have to look for its patronage to the upper classes. As in mediaeval times, when all of the guilds met together to erect a cathedral which should be a fitting place for the transaction of public affairs, art will again express the public mind, and be servant to the public interest.

The Month

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Labor in America

Overshadowing all other questions in the field of labor during the past month is the strike of over 600,000 miners, alluded to elsewhere in this issue. The textile strike was extended to the mills at Lawrence. In the needle trades the Amalgamated Clothing Workers averted threatened strikes in Chicago and Rochester, and entered into a three-year agreement with the clothing manufacturers in these sections. The railroad workers continued their contests before the Railroad Labor Board. The month was also marked by important developments in the fields of workers' education, of politics and of co-operation.

Workers' Education

A CLOSER working union between the Workers' Education Bureau and the American Federation of Labor is likely to be the outstanding result of the Second Annual Conference of the Bureau held in New York City, April 22 and 23. The Conference moved that committees from both organizations meet and formulate a definite plan of co-operation. The Conference also denounced the Lusk laws as tending "to render impossible the free development of any experiment in education," and urged the support of the labor press.

In late March the A. F. of L. announced its plan for workers' education, to be conducted under the general supervision of Matthew Woll, Chairman of the Education Committee. It declared that the Federation intended to publish text books, develop a lecture service and prepare pamphlets and other educational helps, in co-operation with the W. E. B. What the result of this co-operation will be on the development of fundamental eudcation it is too early as yet to foretell.

Machinists

AT present writing, balloting is continuing for the biennial election of officers of the International Association of Machinists. William R. Knudsen is contending for President against William H. Johnston, the present incumbent; Clinton S. Golden, for Editor of the *Machinist's Journal* against Fred Hewitt, and George Stollof for Secretary-Treasurer, against E. C. Davidson. The candidates running against present officers are not all on one slate and do not represent similar views.

President Johnston, through W. Jett Lauck, has asked the Interstate Commerce Commission to extend its investigation of the "contracting out" system of the railroads and to enjoin the roads from continuing this practice as wasteful to the people's money.

Labor's Political Activities

THE first meeting of the National Council of the Conference for Progressive Political Action was held on March 25. The Council urged that the Political Conference be made a permanent institution; that each national association affiliated be assessed one cent per member per year; that the National Council be enlarged by two farmer members, and that the members of the National Committee residing in Washington be designated as the Executive Committee. State officials of railway organizations, it was reported, would work in the field on behalf of candidates, while the national organizations would send out its own organizers. Progressive political action was reported in some fourteen States.

In North Dakota the Non-partisan Leaguers, meeting in Fargo, from March 23-5, nominated Governor Fraser as United States Senator, and ex-Senator Baker as Governor. A. C. Townley resigned from the North Dakota and the national leadership of the League.

In Oklahoma considerable antagonism has developed between the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League and the Socialist party. The former organization has nominated the Mayor of Oklahoma City, J. C. Walton, as candidate for Governor; the latter, O. E. Enfield. The Socialist party convention declared that the *Oklahoma Leader* did not represent the attitude of the Socialist party in urging Socialists to register as Democrats, in an effort to nominate in the primaries the officers chosen by the Farmer-Labor League.

* * *

In the campaign for Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, John C. Kleist, Socialist candidate, secured 161,000 votes, the largest vote ever cast for a Socialist candidate in any State, with the exception of New York. Though carrying Milwaukee and five other counties, Kleist was defeated by about 15,000 votes. In 1920 Debs polled about 80,000 votes. In earlier elections for local officers in Milwaukee, Reynolds, Socialist, was defeated by 3,700 votes for District Attorney. His vote totaled 32,864. He was opposed by a non-partisan candidate.

* * *

Vigorous protest was made during the month by a delegation of Socialists, led by S. John Block, to the gerrymandering in the Twelfth Congressional District, New York. The legislative action lopped off the strongly Socialist section of the Meyer London District, the aim being the defeat of the lone Socialist in Congress.

* * *

The "united front" was again urged in a recent manifesto of the Workers' party of America. "We call for a united front of labor, politically and industrially," reads the statement. "We call upon all political parties of the working class and all labor unions to fight together in this crisis."

Labor Research

LABOR'S ever increasing demand for careful research work in its every day struggles is vividly shown in the 1921 report of the Labor Bureau, Inc. The report states that the volume of work performed by the Bureau in 1921 was more than four times that of the eight months of 1920. It served 64 labor organizations, rendered 113 reports on economic conditions, 102 on wages and 52 on the cost of living, and prepared briefs

in 16 arbitration cases. It opened offices in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco. It is difficult to overestimate the value of work of this kind to the American labor movement.

Co-operative Banking Here

HAVING organized their Central Co-operative Bank in Cleveland, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers are now planning a nation-wide co-operative banking system for railway employees, according to Warren S. Stone, the Grand Chief of the Brotherhood. Resources of the local bank in Cleveland are now more than $14,000,000, while deposits exceed $11,000,000. Three co-operative banks are already in existence, including one at Tucson, Ariz., Hammond, Ind., and Philadelphia. Workers in Pittsburg are starting a similar venture in that city. Minneapolis, Spokane, Seattle, and San Bernardino are among the other cities mentioned as possible centers.

The profits or savings of the co-operative banks are returned to the share-depositors in the form of increased interest rates, the depositors thus becoming virtual shareholders in the enterprise. They plan to institute a "personal collateral loan system," whereby a depositor will be loaned money on his record as a worker and a citizen.

* * *

While many co-operative undertakings are reporting success, others are encountering difficulties. The Pacific Co-operative Society, with its more than forty stores, has recently gone into bankruptcy. The Society departed from the Rochdale cooperative principles. Members of retail stores had no say over the election of store managers. Daily receipts were forwarded to the central office, and delay in payments often greatly handicapped the retail stores.

"Boring from Within"

THE "boring from within" tactics adopted by William Z. Foster and the Trade Union Educational League in their campaign to develop the spirit of radicalism within the American Federation of Labor has led Samuel Gompers and his supporters to launch a bitter attack against the Foster group. The immediate cause of the attack was the resolution of the Chicago Federation of Labor, which called on the A. F. of L. to summon a conference of international unions "to amalgamate all the unions of the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover an industry." The resolution was first carried by a vote of 113 to 37, and, when attacked by the building trades, reaffirmed by a vote of 103 to 14.

Gompers declared that Foster was an apostle of Lenin, that he was following a program dictated by Moscow, and was bent on the destruction of the Federation. "While I am a trade unionist from the ground up, I am first of all an American, and never have I known such a self-appointed autocrat as this Foster, who discarded the I. W. W. doctrine to return to the red mantle of Sovietism."

Foster replied that his sole object was that of educating the American worker to the need of industrial unionism.

The attack was followed by a statement of the National Catholic Welfare Council in partial defense of

Drawn by Gropper. **TREASON IN WEST VIRGINIA** *I. P. E. U. 624*

Three hundred miners are on trial at Charles Town, where John Brown was tried. Have the operators, who subsidize public officials and maintain an army of gunmen, been put on trial also? Another silly question!

the industrial union idea. "When the industrial union is used solely as an agency for collective bargaining," its statement read, "it is to be classed solely as a labor union, without ulterior political or revolutionary significance. In addition, industrial unions, it is said, would be in a better position to secure profit-sharing and a gradual change of ownership from a capitalist basis to widespread personal ownership held by a majority of those who work in the various concerns and industries."

Unemployment

A PLAN involving the development of gigantic reclamation works for the alleviation of the unemployment problem was drafted in March by a special committee of the legislative conference of the American Federation of Labor. The Colorado River system, according to the report of the committee, offers possibilities of irrigation of vast tracts of land, which would necessitate the building of towns and cities, factories and railroads, as the cultivation of the soil proceeds. Swamps in the North and South would be drained and transformed into farms, according to the report, while canals and good roads should be built at once. The channel of the Mississippi and its tributaries should be deepened to afford outlets from the industrial cities of Chicago, Pittsburg and Kansas City. A large loan to begin the undertaking of these developments should be negotiated at once.

Concentration

GROWING concentration of industrial employment into large units is indicated in the Census Bureau's report on manufacturing establishments for 1919. Some 26.4 per cent of the factory workers are employed in factories having over 1,000 workers, as compared with 17.8 per cent in 1914. More than half the workers (53.5 per cent) work in concerns employing from 100 to 250. Only 19 per cent of the 9,000,000 factory hands were in groups employing 50 or less.

Amnesty

FROM all over the nation demands have been made during the last month for amnesty for political prisoners. In late March 650 churches in Chicago, representing 300,000 communicants, went on record in favor of releasing all political prisoners held in federal penitentiaries for expressing opinions against the war. Fifty Congressmen from 21 States petitioned the President for amnesty. "Many of the sentences," declared they, "were more severe than those inflicted by any other countries engaged in the war. Every other country has released prisoners of the same class."

In New York State Messrs. Ferguson and Ruthenberg, imprisoned for Communist propaganda, were released on parole in late April. Governor Miller, however, refused to release James Larkin, on the ground that an appeal was now pending in the Court of Appeals as to whether he had been given a fair trial.

* * *

A curious example of official tyranny was shown in the refusal of the authorities to deliver the letter of Eugene V. Debs to J. O. Bentall, who is still in Leavenworth. The ground of the refusal was the ruling that inmates of Leavenworth are not permitted to correspond with inmates or former inmates of that or any other institution, without special permission.

(The railroad labor situation will be treated in detail in special articles in the June issue.)

Labor Abroad

The month of April witnessed two big European conferences of the political and trade union internationals. At Berlin, on April 2, representatives of the three political Internationals met and broke bread for the first time since the war. At Rome labor groups from all over Europe met at the Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and strengthened their campaign against militarism and war. The Russians' achievements at Genoa, the gigantic strikes and lockouts in England, Denmark and other countries, and the 24-hour strike against militarism in Ireland were among the other events of importance in the labor world.

Three Internationals at Berlin

UNDOUBTEDLY the most important step toward the reuniting of the scattered hosts of labor in Europe since the breakdown of the International in 1914 was taken at the Berlin Conference of April 2, which contained the following representatives of the Second, Third and Second and a Half Internationals:

For the Second International: Vandervelde and Huysmans, of Belgium; Macdonald, Tom Shaw and Gosling, of Great Britain; Wels, German Majority; Stauning, Denmark; Tseretelli, Georgia; Vliegen, Holland; and Mueller, Sweden.

For the Third International: Bukharin and Radek, from Russia; Clara Zetkin, Germany; Frossard, France; Stojanowitz, Smoral, Kataysma, Rosmer and Barsti.

For the Vienna Union: Frederick Adler and Otto Bauer, Austria; Longuet and Faure, France; Martov and Crispien, Germany; Wallhead, Great Britain; Grimm, Switzerland; Cerniak, Czecho-Slovakia; Kalnin, Latvia.

The conference was held in a majestic hall in the Reichstag building. Frederick Adler, Tom Shaw and Clara Zetkin were appointed its Presidents.

Several times during the four-days' gathering bitter attacks launched by the extremists of the Second and Third Internationals against each other threatened to break up the conference. Vandervelde's denunciation of the Communists for their treatment of the Republic of Georgia and of the Russian Social Revolutionists, and Radek's counter-charge against the Second International for its lack of achievement were especially heated. The large majority of the delegates, however, anxious to secure united action of the workers in the face of capitalist reaction, showed a disposition to discuss the concrete methods of present and future co-operation, rather than past differences.

The agreement finally reached provided, among other things:

1. That a committee of nine be appointed—three from each International—to lay the foundations for a future meeting of an International Congress, and for a united working class front.
2. That the Executive Committees of the Internationals work for a rapprochement between the two trade union Internationals—the Amsterdam and "Red" Internationals.
3. That the trials of the Russian Social Revolutionists be conducted openly; that no death sentence be imposed on these defendants, and that Vandervelde be allowed to represent the Second International at Moscow as defending counsel.

4. That a committee of three Internationals be allowed to inspect all documents relating to the Republic of Georgia and other Caucasian States.

5. That the various Internationals hold international demonstrations against unemployment, for the eight-hour day, and in aid of Soviet Russia.

6. That the parties not represented at present in any of the Internationals (the American, Italian, Argentine and other groups) be invited to send their representatives to the next Congress.

The "treaty of peace" was accepted with acclamation. Following the meeting, Ramsay Macdonald and Emil Vandervelde, of the Second International, withdrew the conditions which they had laid down as the sine qua non of any co-operation—that the Communists refrain from the organization of "nuclei" within whatever "united front" may be formed. This question, however, may be brought before the next Congress.

Permission had been granted to the Communists to participate in the Berlin meeting at the convention of the Third International held in Moscow in March. The vote for participation was 46 against 10. Zinoviev declared, during the debate, that, "as long as the right wing leaders enjoyed the confidence of the conservative section of the workers, it remains necessary to sit at the same table with them." The radical Communists, opposing this policy, protested against surrender to the "traitor Socialists." Following the decision, the minority was told to cease criticisms on pain of expulsion.

The Trade Union International

ON April 20, the International Federation of Trade Unions, representing some 24,000,000 workers, organized in twenty countries, met in Rome. Chief attention was directed to the best methods of crushing militarism and averting a new war. "European armies at this moment," declared J. H. Thomas, Chairman of the Conference, "are larger by millions of men than in 1914, despite the limitation of the German army to 100,000 men. At the same time there are 10,000,000 unemployed, demonstrating the failure of our industrial system to function. Genoa fails to represent the worker, because the worker is apathetic."

"The exclusion of disarmament from the program of the Genoa Conference doomed the conference to failure in advance," declared Secretary D'Arragona, of the Italian Confederation of Labor.

Opinion seemed to be divided at the Rome Congress as to the use of the general strike to be declared by the executive in the event of hostilities in any part of the world. The Congress organized an Executive Committee of sixteen countries, provision being made for representation in the Conference of the American labor groups. A motion to include women's organizations in the Internationale was laid on the table, owing to the diverse situation of women in different countries.

The "boring from within" tactics must cease before there can be any reconciliation between the Amsterdam and the "Red" Trade Union Internationals, according to Edo Fimmen, Secretary of the Amsterdam group. He declared:

"Before we are ready to negotiate we demand certain guarantees. First of these is that Moscow give up its tactic of 'boring from within.' We should be perfectly willing to negotiate with a movement that is running along parallel lines with ours, but separate and distinct from ours. But we object to an organization which, while maintaining a separate and distinct entity, also maintains minorities within the Federation of Trade Unions which constantly agitate against the various national affiliated bodies as well as against the federation itself."

May Day

"AGAINST Reaction! For Universal Peace!" This was the keynote of the May Day manifesto of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. The manifesto declared that the governments of the world had absolutely disregarded their fair promises made to the workers during the war, and that, as a result, the European workers were suffering from unemployment, misery and starvation. The workers alone had a constructive program—the "equitable distribution of raw materials, the stabilization of the rates of exchange, the socialization of the land and the means of production."

"The well-being of the whole world lies in the triumph of internationalism. Let May First be a day of demonstration for international solidarity. Let the governing classes at last realize that the bad old times are gone, and that a new era has dawned. Demonstrate against economic reaction which would fain increase the economic servitude of the masses. Demonstrate against political reaction which strengthens the power of miltarism and fosters the spirit of war.

"Demonstrate in defense of the eight-hour day, a fair day's wage and for an existence worthy of a human being. War against war! Long live international solidarity."

The Federation made extensive preparations throughout the month for their annual convention held in Rome.

Russia

THE Soviet Republic, during the last month, has been occupied in securing recognition from the Western countries, in laying a basis at Genoa for a loan to enable it to reorganize its industries, in feeding the famine sufferers, and in encouraging a "united front." The recognition of Russia by Germany at the Genoa Conference was generally regarded as the first big step toward world recognition.

The All-Russian Communist Party Congress, held in Moscow in late March, again endorsed Lenin's policy of economic reconstruction. Lenin declared that the retreat to capitalism had now reached its limit, and assured the delegates that they need not fear the return of the speculator.

"With power in our hands, it is unnecessary for us to fear anything. To conclude that we are returning to capitalism is laughable. If we do not make political mistakes, then I say it is 99 to 1 we will surmount this crisis, and the whole party, as well as the non-party workers and peasants, will be with us."

Lenin was opposed by Larin, former head of the Economic Council, who asked whether the people would fight for restaurant keepers and speculators who had been restored to prosperity, if Soviet Russia were again attacked.

Lenin also urged a house cleaning on the part of government officials.

"We must so reconstruct the government machine that at the head of important officers do not stand men who know nothing about such matters. Our Communists are splendid fellows enough, but they are of no use for practical work. Nobody knows for what he is responsible. True, we have undertaken a great house cleaning of the offices. That was good, but not sufficient, by any means. Tens of thousands must go the same way. We need exclusively such people as are actually efficient and willing to produce results. Our most dangerous enemy today is the Communist orator occupying a responsible and important administrative position. From this enemy we must free the State. The great impending house cleaning is aimed at party leaders who think themselves administrators. They are the great propagandists and agitators who understand well how to tear down everything, but are incapable of putting anything in its stead. Their whole day's work consists of spinning new and ever more beautiful

theories. The every day routine work does not interest them. It is too tiresome and exacting."

Millions of Russian children are still exposed to the horrors of starvation and certain death, despite the supplies sent by outside agencies.

Australia

AUSTRALIAN labor is looking forward to another All-Australasian Trade Union Congress to be held in Melbourne next June. The Congress of last year favored the socialization of industry, the One Big Union, the development of a chain of labor dailies, an anti-war campaign, unemployment insurance, credit control and a Council of Action. "And today," declares Bell Garth, in the *Queensland Worker*, "the socialization scheme is the chief department of the labor platform, the One Big Union has been formed, the dailies are coming, and an anti-war Pan-Pacific Congress of working class organizations is being called."

A ballot recently taken by the Australian Workers' Union, the largest industrial union in Australia, decided, by a 6 to 1 majority, to link up with the One Big Union.

Great Britain

THE lockout of hundreds of thousands of machinists belonging to the Amalgamated Engineers' Union was the most ominous event during March and April in the industrial life of Great Britain. The issue involved the question of shop control. Specifically it related to that of overtime. In September 1920, the A. E. U. made an agreement with the Employers' Federation, in which both sides deprecated systematic overtime as a method of production, and declared that if such work were necessary, no workman should be required to work more than 30 hours' overtime in any four-week period. This extra work, however, should not be restricted in case of breakdowns, etc.

For many months following this agreement the employers took the same position as did the workers, namely, that overtime would not be regarded as necessary, unless such necessity was conceded by both parties. In November 1921, however, the employers delivered an ultimatum, in which they denied industrial control to the workers. This referendum was accepted by the executive of the union, but rejected by a majority of over 14,000 in a total vote of 85,000. Lockout notices were thereupon posted on February 25, to take effect on March 11. The lockout of the tens of thousands of engineers (machinists) followed.

A number of British churchmen, including Bishops Gore and Temple, Doctors Clifford, Meyers, Orchard and Sheppard, have recently issued a manifesto characterizing the refusal to the workmen of a share in management as "virtually a denial of the worth of human personality."

While the British trade unions are seeking to conserve their war-time gains, the British co-operative movement is going forward into new fields of conquest. One of the last ventures of the Co-operative Wholesale is the acquisition of an entire coal mine and the sinking of two new shafts in the Shilbottle colliery in order to secure coal at cost for the members of the retail co-operative stores. The Society is building for the miners a garden village. The stone for the houses is supplied from the quarries owned by the Co-operative Society.

During the month the Labor party made considerable gains in minor elections. Of chief interest was the by-election at East Leicester, where the Labor candidate, Banton, secured 17,000, as against 8,700 for the Liberal candidate, and 3,800 for the Independent Liberal. The overturn since last election in favor of the Labor party was nearly 20,000.

Austria and Germany

ON April 20, partly as a result of the Berlin Congress, tens of thousands of Socialists and Communists gathered in the squares in Berlin and Vienna, denounced the capitalist Entente at Genoa, and urged the world recognition of Soviet Russia, the maintenance of the eight-hour day and unemployment legislation. In Vienna, where 90,000 workers are now suffering from unemployment, factories closed to give the workers a chance to parade, while hundreds of Socialist soldiers off duty joined the paraders.

The Communist official paper recently charged that 135,000 inhabitants of Berlin were homeless; that 386,000 occupy one room; that the number of cases of tuberculosis had doubled since the war, and that 30,000 children in Berlin alone were now suffering from the white plague.

Italy

IN order "to oppose to the united ranks of reaction the alliance of the proletarian forces, to restore civil liberties and to retain the labor victories already won," various powerful labor groups recently met and formed a permanent joint committee of action. These groups include the Confederation of Labor, the Trade Union Association, the Enginemen's Union and the Federation of Port and Dock Workers. Reformists, Anarchists and trade unionists of varying views were present.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

REFERENCES ON CURRENT LABOR MATTERS.

3. The Needle Trades.

J. M. Budish and George Soule, "The New Unionism." (Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920.)

Jesse Pope, "The Clothing Industry in New York." (University of Missouri, 1905.)

Bulletins of Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Nos. 144, 145, 146, 147 (all published 1914.)

Reports of conventions: Amalgamated Clothing Workers (31 Union Square, New York City), International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (3 W. 16th Street, New York City), United Cloth Hat & Cap Makers' Union (41 Union Square, New York City), United Garment Workers (Bible House, New York City), Amalgamated Textile Workers (7 E. 15th Street, New York City), International Furriers' Union (9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y.), Journeymen Tailors' Union (6700 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.)

Official organs of these unions.

THE BUREAU OF INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH continues its good work of making public the facts about industry in the publication of **Hugh Archbald's "The Four-Hour Day in Coal." (H. W. Wilson Co., New York City.)** This book is a "study of the relation between the engineering of the organization of work and the discontent among the workers in the coal mines." Mr. Archbald's twenty years as a mining engineer qualify him to handle this subject, which he does in an exceedingly interesting and able manner. The facts which he presents show that the coal mining industry is almost a complete chaos, and that the method of organizing wage payments, hours of labor, and other features of the work, produce not the highest efficiency, but the maximum inefficiency. This is a volume which every active labor man and student of labor problems should read—particularly when labor is beginning to insist that wasteful conditions such as exist in coal should be stopped.

* * *

ANOTHER publication of the Bureau dealing with the coal fields is **Powers Hapgood's "In Non-Union Mines,"** in which are related the author's experiences in the unorganized mines of central Pennsylvania. It is upon this district that the operators depend for their supply of coal to break nation-wide strikes. Hapgood is a graduate of Harvard, who has voluntarily taken up mining as a profession. His account of conditions in the Pennsylvania non-union counties throws a flood of light on why the miners there have so readily joined their union brothers in the present big walk-out. The cover of the booklet contains a helpful map of this unorganized region.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of LABOR AGE, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1922. State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Louis F. Budenz, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Manager of the LABOR AGE, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Labor Publication Society, 41 Union Square, New York City; editors, Prince Hopkins, Harry W. Laidler, Roger N. Baldwin, Stuart Chase, Max D. Danish, Joseph Schlossberg, Norman Thomas; business and editorial manager, Louis F. Budenz; no managing editor.

2. That the owners are: The Labor Publication Society, a non-stock corporation; approximate membership, 145, 41 Union Square, New York City; President, James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.; Secretary, Harry W. Laidler, 41 Union Square, New York City; Treasurer, Abraham Baroff, 3 West 16th street, New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and condition under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1922.

(Seal.) E. R. HUDDERS,
Notary Public, Kings County.
(My commission expires March 30, 1923.)

A COUNTRY HOME CLUB, with all profits from co-operation devoted to children's organic education, is starting within commuting distance of New York. Brief personal history should accompany all enquiries addressed to Country Home Club, W. Nyack, N. Y.

CO-OPERATION tells you what the radicals of Europe are doing and what many of them are beginning to do here in laying the ground floor of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Published monthly by The Co-operative League of America, 2 W. 13th St., New York City. Subscription price, $1.00 a year.

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Diary of a Coal Miner in Western Pennsylvania

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LABOR MEN *and* WOMEN!

Political Prisoners Are Still in Jail in America.

ANSWER THIS CHALLENGE!

Nine men, long in the service of labor, are now serving upward to 10 years in New York State Prisons.

These men are Alonen, Ferguson, Gitlow, Larkin, Manko, Mizher, Paivio, Ruthenberg and Winitsky.

Suffering from the results of inhuman persecution, Manko has been taken to the hospital for the criminal insane at Dannemora.

ANSWER THIS CHALLENGE! Infamous Law Resurrected.

These men were convicted under the infamous Criminal Anarchy Act of 1902, resurrected after 17 years' oblivion by the labor-baiting Lusk Committee.

Lack of sufficient evidence did not trouble the prosecution. The General Strike at Winnipeg, Canada, was dragged in and alleged horrors in connection with it were magnified to create the necessary hysterical atmosphere.

Judge Weeks, especially appointed, furnished the essential "interpretations" to supplement any inadequacies in the law.

ANSWER THIS CHALLENGE! You May Be Next!

Such procedure constitutes a menace to every labor organization, and to all their spokesmen. It is a violation of the most elementary civil rights. **If these tactics win for capitalistic forces, the next step is the permanent fastening on the workers of Industrial Court Laws.**

JOIN THE DRIVE FOR THEIR RELEASE!

The Amnesty Alliance for New York State Political Prisoners has been organized to conduct a drive for their release. The co-operating organizations urge you to do your utmost in this work. We serve **ALL** labor groups, without regard to their views or doctrines.

Co-Operating Organizations:

American Civil Liberties Union
Italian Chamber of Labor
Italian Defense Committee
National Defense Committee
Socialist Party; Local Bronx
United Labor Council
United Toilers of America
Workers' Defense Union
Workers' Party

Send Contributions to:
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN,
Secretary-Treasurer,
and mail to:
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For New York State Political Prisoners,
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BREAD AND IRON

vs.

Blood and Iron

There are two conflicting policies toward Soviet Russia: "Blood and Iron" is the policy of the capitalists; "Bread and Iron" is the policy of the workers.

The international capitalist bund has tried its policy of "Blood and Iron" for five long years, keeping the world in ceaseless turmoil, polluting the press with endless lies, and wasting mountains of wealth in furious assaults upon the First Workers' Republic.

The merciless struggle is almost over. The capitalists have been defeated. "Blood and Iron" has failed.

Soviet Russia has fought her way valiantly through to a right to life and an opportunity to lay the foundation of a better world. Genoa had to be, and Russia had to be there. Cowering behind their painted masks and meek beneath their blatant boasts, the capitalist diplomats flocked around the hated representatives of Soviet Russia to bargain insidiously against each other for the best terms they could get.

This is the hour to strike for victory. Now is the time for the workers of the world to put their policy of "Bread and Iron" into effect. "Bread and Iron" can win. With the workers' backing, "Bread and Iron" will surely triumph.

The first half of this policy has been carried out extensively. Bread the working masses have given, and are still generously giving to their struggling comrades in Soviet Russia. The fearful famine has been checked, and continued effort may conservatively hope to overcome it completely before winter returns.

On to the second half of the workers' policy! Now for the "Iron." Give "Iron" to strengthen the First Workers' Republic. Soviet Russia grievously needs "Iron"—everything from nails to locomotives, from pins to dynamos. Tools and machinery of all kinds are sorely wanted and must be had to convert the vast realms of Russia, over one-fifth of the whole habitable world, into a flourishing labor commonwealth.

Every worker will benefit by the achievements of Soviet Russia, and the children of all the workers will inherit greater security and richer life. Take part, therefore, in the great work. Though the skill of your hands and the love of your heart must remain afar, send your tools to help build the mighty structure. Contribute in money whatever you can, whether it be to buy a hammer or a saw, a tractor or a thresher. Join with the comrades in your shop, in your organization, to make a united gift. Workers, sympathizers, be generous and true;

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

May 1 to June 1, 1922

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P. S.—Here is my contribution of ..... *to buy bread and tractors for Russia.*

(Labor Age, 5-22)